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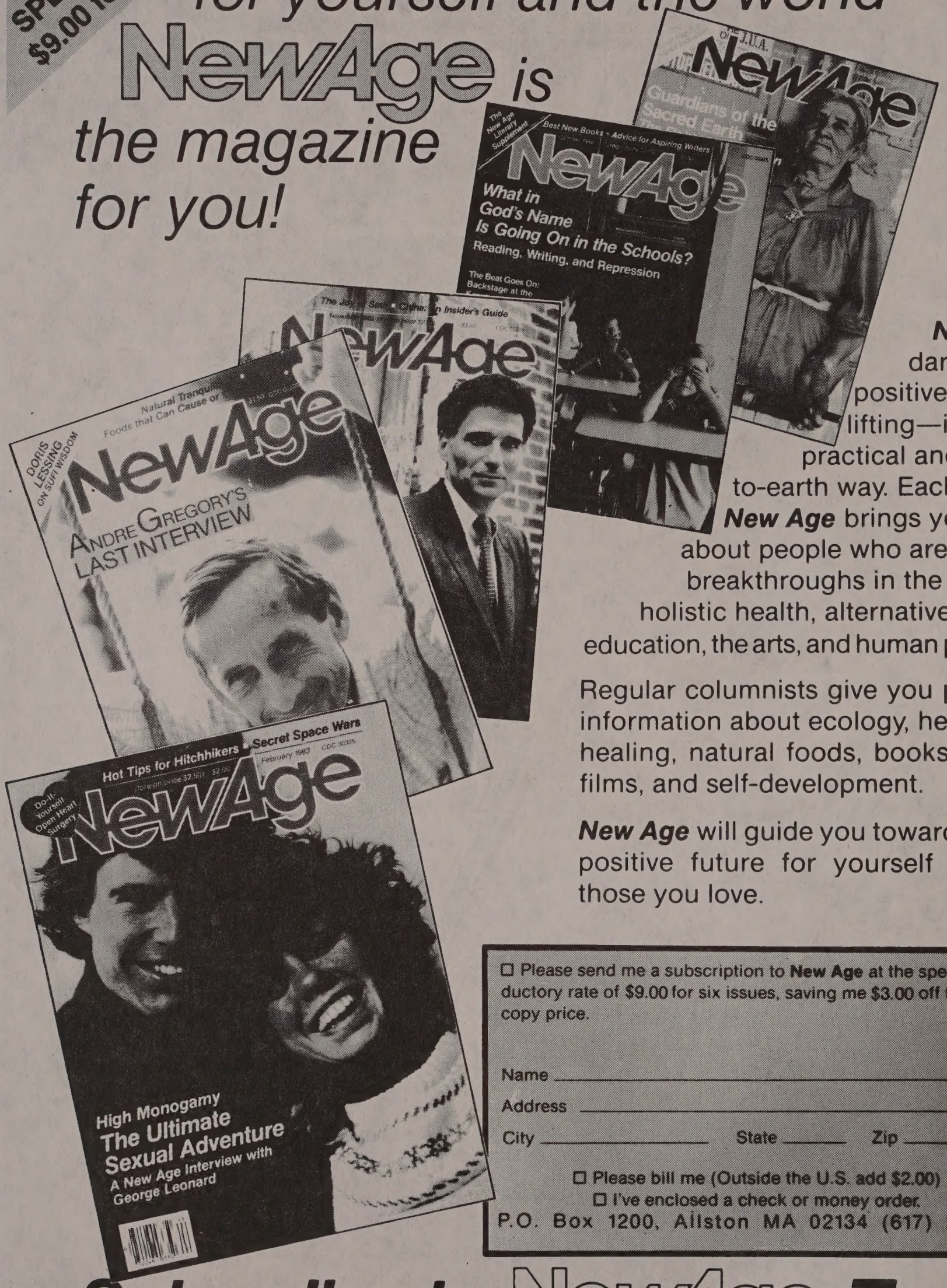
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TIMES

LETTERS

Friends & Enemies

One comment on the attack from the Right ("Anti-Freeze Campaign Heats Up," Feb. '83)—it should neither drive us back into the old policy of trying to save our skins by "excluding" people who may be real live members of the Communist Party, nor should it lead us to the curious position taken by some liberals that "the enemy of my enemy is automatically my friend." That is, no one should be excluded from the movement, but no one should try to exclude frank discussions on problems presented by the Soviet or Chinese governments as well as our own. Intervention, to be concrete, is dangerous and can lead to nuclear war, whether it is the United States in Central America, Israel in Lebanon, the Soviet Union in Afghanistan, or China in Vietnam.

Of interest to me was the material on Civil Defense—some readers may want to know there is an informal working committee on Civil Defense that has brought together staff people from the Methodists, Fellowship of Reconciliation, Catholic Peace Fellowship, Trap Rock, War Resisters League, the Nuclear Network, and the Religious Task Force. We are finding out how much is going on locally on this issue. If people want information, or have information to share, please get in touch with me at War Resisters League, 339 Lafayette Street, NYC 10012.

—David McReynolds
New York, N.Y.

Banking On Peace

I believe some of your readers would find it helpful if you would publish a list of places to invest savings other than Government bonds or other unacceptable methods. Pax World Fund, Inc., 224 State St., Portsmouth, New Hampshire 03801, is one. I understand that others have sprung up recently.

—Janet N. Neuman
Washington, D.C.

Blast Proof

Your attention to the Comprehensive Test Ban and its importance as an arms control measure is to be commended. However, I am curious about where you obtained the information on Soviet nuclear tests in 1982 for your January article "Underground Protest Grows." You compared 18 tests conducted by the United States (as of December 11) to "only four blasts" set off by the Soviet Union, implying restraint on the part of the USSR. In fact, it was a busy year for both countries. According to Sweden's National Defense Research Institute, as of October 31 the Soviet Union had conducted 19 underground tests.

—Kay Treakle
Greenpeace
Seattle, Wash.

(The final Swedish count for 1982, in fact, was 31 Soviet tests. However, there is a wide gap in "official" blast counts. The U.S. Department of Energy, for example, lists only six verified *Soviet tests for 1982. The vast difference may be caused by varying interpretations of seismic data. But Peter Staugaard of the Center for Foreign Policy Development in Providence, Rhode Island, suggests that one reason the DOE might underestimate Soviet tests is so that the Soviets will not know how good U.S. detection devices really are.*—Eds.)

Meltdowns Don't Mix

Nuclear Times should NOT, as suggested by one of your readers ("Letters", Jan. '83) "include news of the anti-nuclear power movement." The simple fact is that far more people are in favor of an end to the threat of nuclear war than in favor of an end to commercial nuclear power plants.

Maine offers proof. Twice the voters have rejected referenda to close a nuclear power plant, but an overwhelming majority vote in favor of nuclear weapons freeze resolutions, just as our state legislature has done. To confuse the possible accidental destruction of a wide area by a meltdown with the deliberate destruction of humanity is unrealistic and unwise.

—George Derringer
Damariscotta, Maine

We regret that we did not credit Howard Rosenberg for material used in last month's "Doomsday Draft" article.

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•EARLY WARNINGS•

PEACEMARKED U.S.A.: A coalition of U.S. peace groups has drafted a letter to Yuri Andropov, calling on him to stop the harassment of the Group To Establish Trust Between the U.S.S.R. and the U.S., the independent Soviet disarmament campaign. "This is basically the same group of U.S. organizations that sent a similar letter to Brezhnev last September," says Evan Eisenberg of Democratic Socialists of America, a signer of the letter.

The letter asks Andropov to preserve "an independent voice" within the Soviet Union on "the crucial issue of nuclear arms control." It adds, "We are aware that the Soviet Peace Committee has been founded as the official organization to call for disarmament. However, we feel that any governmental organization is bound to follow its own government's policies, and have very little, if any independent voice which might affect these policies." The letter also urges Andropov to release Oleg Radzinsky, a member of the Moscow group, from the psychiatric hospital where he is incarcerated. Mobilization for Survival, SANE, and Psychologists for Social Responsibility are among the groups that have endorsed the letter, according to Eisenberg.

Since its formation last June, the Group To Establish Trust has been repeatedly harassed by Soviet officials. In a recent interview, Sergei Batovrin, a member, notes "judicial reprisals are being prepared, harassment continues, a smear campaign is underway in the press. It looks like the final breakup of the group is being prepared for in the near future."

THERE HE GOES AGAIN: During the January recess in Congress, while other senators were on vacation or catching up on their work, Senator Jeremiah Denton took his antifreeze bandwagon on a whistle-stop tour through his home state, Alabama. Speaking in Montgomery, Denton told an audience that if the nuclear freeze movement is not stopped, the United States will be on its way to becoming one large concentration camp. He called the freeze a "scummy, dumb idea."

During his speech, Denton told the story of how he was recently on a fishing trip near Mobile and heard a low, rumbling sound. At first, he thought the noise was a "Soviet missile attack." Luckily, he noted, the sound proved to be a passing meterorite.

On each stop of his tour—which included Huntsville, Birmingham and Mobile—he called on Alabama to become the center for a "counter-movement of common sense" against the freeze. And after his Montgomery address, he told a reporter from the *Montgomery Advertiser:* "Don't paint me to be a psychological nut."

PRESSING FOR A FREEZE: When SANE launched a media campaign in North Carolina to promote a bilateral nuclear weapons freeze, it went looking for a local celebrity to carry its message. Dean Smith, who coached the University of North Carolina basketball team to a 1982 NCCA championship, was eager to oblige. Last month SANE aired over one hundred 60-second radio spots in North Carolina with Smith's freeze endorsement: "Winning the national championship was a great thrill. But there's one contest which nobody wins—the international arms race."

"We picked Dean Smith because he's

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not only a winner on court, and highly respected in North Carolina, but he's not labeled as a liberal or a conservative—he's politically neutral. People trust him," says SANE's Norris Frederick. The campaign, which urged people to call a toll-free number to lodge support for the freeze, also included outdoor billboards and additional radio spots narrated by Ed Asner and Sister Mary Thomas Burke, a well-known community organizer.

A DOWN-TO-EARTH BILL: Most people agree that one arms race is more than enough, and that we hardly need a second one. On February 2 Representative Joe Moakley introduced a resolution in the House that calls for the negotiation of a treaty that would prohibit the use of space weaponry by the United States and the Soviet Union, thereby preventing an arms race in space.

The resolution, introduced in the Senate on February 3, is important for two reasons, says Jim McGovern, an aide for Moakley. "First of all, since we use satellites for reconnaissance and treaty verification, anti-satellite weapons will jeopardize the central nervous system of the arms control network on earth," McGovern explains. "Secondly, the cost of space weaponry will be phenomenal, especially for systems that will be rife with mechanical impracticalities."

Moakley and his staff have been busy spreading the word on the Hill about space weaponry, holding seminars for members of Congress and for the press. But time may be running out. "Once the weapons are in space, our task will become 10 times as hard," says McGovern. The Soviets have already tested a crude anti-satellite weapon, and the United States is slated to test a more sophisticated version in a few months. "Obviously, the time for a treaty is now," says McGovern.

CEASE AND RESIST: If Congress won't take a bite out of military spending maybe citizens will. As April 15 draws near tax resistance groups are gearing up for this year's campaign. The National War Tax Resistance Coordinating Committee, a coalition of national and local groups, is coordinating nationwide activities, April 1 through 16, which will encourage individuals to withhold taxes to protest the arms race.

Though the philosophies of the four national groups involved in the Coordinating Committee—War Resisters League, Peacemakers, Conscience and Military Tax Campaign, and the Center for Law and Pacifism—differ substantially, they are working together to disseminate information. Because the IRS has dismissed tax resisters as small numbers of unconnected individuals, the committee wants to publicize grass-roots activity, and make it obvious that there is a cohesive, national tax resistance movement. Planned events include demonstrations at IRS offices, some civil disobedience, and establishing tax clinics to counsel prospective tax resisters. The coordinating committee plans a national conference in New York in May.

The most visible tax resister in the United States—Archbishop Raymond Hunthausen of Seattle—once again plans to withhold half of his taxes this year, according to his aide, Maury Sheridan. Hunthausen, who began his protest last year, still hasn't heard from the IRS.

WORD OF THE PROFITS: When Michael Lebron, a freelance artist, tried to rent advertising space in New York subway platforms for a poster protesting the arms race, the New York Subway Advertising Company, the private agent of the New York City Transit Authority, refused his request. Lebron was told his art was too controversial. His poster depicts a dove flying over a mushroom cloud and states "delusions about winning a third world war only serve the few who profit from yet another round in military spending."

Lebron then sought the aid of the New York Civil Liberties Union, which agreed to take his case. NYCLU staff counsel Steven Shapiro wrote New York City Transit Authority general counsel Richard Bernard, charging that Lebron's civil rights had been violated. After receiving no response, Shapiro filed suit. Several days later, New York City Subway Advertising agreed to hang Lebron's poster, claiming the refusal of space was only a bureaucratic mistake.

BEATING THE SPREAD: Who has the best record in Congress on nuclear proliferation? A survey released last month reveals that 15 senators of the 97th Congress had perfect records on nuclear proliferation issues. The survey, compiled by the Nuclear Control Institute, in Washington, D.C., also shows that five senators—Nicholas Brady, John East, John Tower, Jake Garn and Jeremiah Denton—voted regularly in favor of policies that encourage the spread of nuclear arms. In the House, 53 representatives achieved perfect, pro-regulation scores, while 39 had scores of zero.

The senators who each scored 100 percent on the Nuclear Control index were Dale Bumpers, David Pryor, Alan Cranston, Gary Hart, Christopher Dodd, Alan Dixon, Nancy Kassebaum, Donald Riegle, Rudy Boschwitz, Harrison Williams, Howard Metzenbaum, John Chafee, Patrick Leahy, Harry Byrd and William Proxmire. □

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MOVING ON NEW FRONTS

Freeze Sets Daring Strategy

When Randy Kehler took to the stage to convene the third annual convention of the Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign last month in St. Louis he called for "a unified national strategy that will carry us forward." But Kehler, national coordinator of the campaign, also reminded his audience of 650 freeze activists from across the country that "the controversy that may be engendered as we work through these difficult decisions is not only inevitable, it is natural and very healthy."

Two days later, the conference presented a new strategy for the campaign. After a series of debates on policy and tactics the delegates reaffirmed their commitment to passage of the freeze resolution in the House and then in the Senate. But they also endorsed a far-reaching platform that seeks to test, as well as increase, the campaign's political clout. To the campaign's agenda they added an ambitious electoral effort in 1984, opposition to the deployment of the cruise and Pershing II missiles in Europe, and suspension of funds for the testing of individual nuclear weapon systems—on the condition that the Soviets display restraint.

Hard decisions had been made, and, above all, a strong sense of unity had been maintained. But while the conference concluded with the adoption of a platform that seemed to be supported by all, tensions within the movement were evident throughout the weekend. As Kehler noted, it was healthy controversy, that of a movement that is growing and stretching. But it also showed that as the campaign moves further from symbolic actions and enters the political arena, the decisions facing it will become even harder.

"THE STAKES ARE HIGHER"

Throughout the weekend, February 4-6, differences and disagreements surfaced as delegates and the campaign's leadership grappled with the central question: Where does the freeze go from here? That has been the question at each of the national freeze conferences, but this year, many participants observed, the specific issues that were debated required a greater amount of sophistication.

"The questions at this conference," says Pam Solo, chairwoman of the campaign's strategy task force, "had a higher degree of political and strategic importance. The decisions were more complex. The relevant information was more detailed. And the political realities were coming from many more directions and layers."

With the campaign's recent success, Kehler noted at the close of the conference, "suddenly the ante has been raised, the stakes are higher." This sense of urgency—in part due to the pending deployment of the Euromissiles and the imminence of the 1984 elections—pervaded the gathering. "I feel, almost viscerally, that the level of concern and anxiety is rising about the decisions we make," Kehler added.

In the final plenary session on February 6, the delegates, representing 47 states and 225 congressional districts, adopted a strategy paper that had been carefully pieced together during the weekend in a series of meetings attended by delegates and campaign leaders. As a general statement of principle, the campaign declared, after much disagreement over precise wording, that until the U.S. government proposes a bilateral freeze to the Soviet Union, it will "urge the U.S. Congress to suspend funding for the testing, production, and deployment of U.S. nuclear weapons, calling upon the Soviet Union to exercise corresponding restraint . . . ."

This policy includes several specific strategies—each aimed at achieving a bilateral freeze. As a legislative option, the delegates approved a call to attach amendments to the funding bills of new warheads and weapons systems which will cut off funds for testing, as long as the Soviet Union refrains from testing a comparable weapon. "It is intended as a choke point, where we get to choke off not merely the testing, but the production and deployment of these weapons systems, to challenge the Soviet Union, and to get our congressmen on record," Randall Forsberg, author of the original call for a freeze, told the conference. U.S. weapons affected by this would include the MX, the Trident II missile, ground- and submarine- launched cruise missiles, and the B-1 and Stealth bombers.

The conference also adopted a legislative strategy intended to halt the deployment of cruise and Pershing II missiles in Europe, now scheduled for December 1983. If the United States and the Soviet

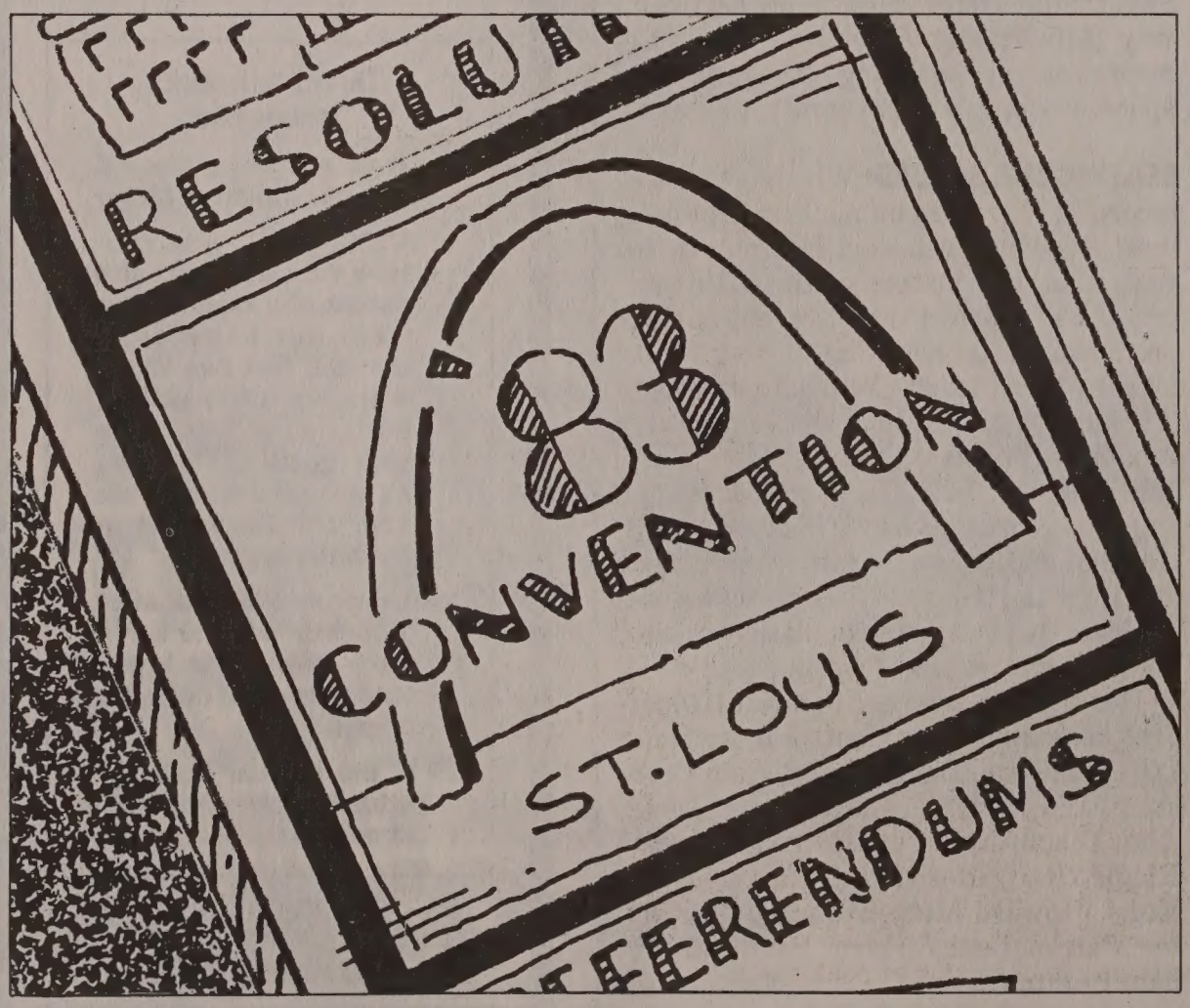

ILLUSTRATION BY ROBERT NEUBECKER

Union cannot reach an agreement that will cancel deployment of these missiles, the campaign "will support a year's delay in the production and deployment of these U.S. missiles, in order to give negotiators more time to negotiate." To this end, the campaign will try to attach amendments to appropriation measures for these missiles, freezing funds for a year. (The campaign also called for substantial reductions in Soviet intermediate-range missiles targeted on Europe.)

Conferring before the final plenary: Jan Kalicki of Senator Kennedy's office, Christopher Paine, delegate Betsy Taylor, Pam Solo, and Helena Knapp

FROM MANDATE TO POLICY

A point raised again and again throughout the convention—during strategy meetings, in informal discussions among delegates, in keynote addresses by Forsberg, Helen Caldicott and others—was the need to develop a political strategy aimed at influencing the 1984 elections. This is the tactic perhaps most in line with the campaign's theme for 1983: "From Popular Mandate to Public Policy." In fact, as Christopher Paine of the Federation of American Scientists points out, the delegates were ahead of the leadership on this issue.

Delegates at the final plenary session adopted an amendment from the floor that was more strongly worded than the proposal offered by the campaign's strategy task force. Calling Project '84 one of its "highest priority goals for 1983," the conference declared it would work to "elect in 1984 a President and Congress who will actively support the freeze." Throughout the weekend delegates discussed various electoral strategies that included the direct endorsement of candidates, electing freeze delegates to the national nominating conventions, and providing volunteer support to pro-freeze candidates. A newly-formed task force will consult with local affiliates and then draft a set of recommendations.

The freeze campaign also expanded its scope by endorsing a series of other measures. It opposed the expansion of U.S. and Soviet facilities designed to make plutonium and tritium for nuclear warheads, as well as increasing the rate of production of such material. The delegates endorsed Jobs with Peace Week (April 10-16) and the Martin Luther King 20th Anniversary March on Washington (August 27). They supported a call for nationwide pro-freeze demonstrations, to be held October 7-8 (in part a sign of solidarity with the European peace community, which is planning demonstrations for later in October). Noting the link between economic and military security, the delegates passed a strongly-worded resolution critical of Reagan's economic policies. They also called for a task force to promote education on nuclear weapons in the Pacific and for a campaign to oppose "U.S. nuclear weapons collaboration with South Africa."

"Many of these resolutions are signs of political sophistication," notes Mike Jendrzejczyk of the Fellowship of Reconciliation. "People have accused the freeze of being too white and middle-class and not sensitive to coalition-building, the economy and racism. The strong endorsement of the King March and the economic resolution shows this is not true."

Delegates voting on a strategy question during final session of conference

A CRITICAL DEBATE

With its 1983 strategy, the freeze campaign has drawn up a game plan with political teeth. Most speakers and participants emphasized repeatedly that 1983 is the critical year. And it was this feeling—that time is indeed short—that was perhaps most responsible for maintaining unity.

But delegates at the third convention had to rise above many differences to unite behind a common strategy. Many of the issues raised during the debates that preceded adoption of the campaign's 1983 strategy—not only in formal sessions, but during meals and late-night ad hoc meetings—were important and are likely to come up again.

Perhaps the biggest debate was on the wording of the general statement of principle which urged for a "cut off" of funding for nuclear weapons, while "calling upon" the Soviet Union to exercise corresponding restraint.

According to delegates who attended

PHOTOS BY DAVID CORN

the strategy sessions that led up to the final plenary, there was much discussion on the "calling upon" phrase. Some delegates wanted to make the suspension of U.S. funds *contingent* upon Soviet restraint. This would make the essence of the freeze campaign a tit-for-tat policy. In other words, the campaign could then *only* advocate measures that had a specific Soviet corollary. For example, the campaign could only call for a U.S. weapons system to be stopped if the Soviets would halt a similar system. Some delegates noted that this might prevent the campaign from opposing the development of the cruise missile because the Soviets do not have a corresponding missile.

Throughout the convention this was a sensitive issue. Most delegates emphasized the need to develop a strategy that would, above all, preserve the bilateral nature of the campaign, and some believed that the wording of the general statement of principle would leave the campaign open to charges of unilateralism—that it will work to reduce the U.S. nuclear arsenal, regardless of Soviet activity.

When the Final plenary convened, the first question off the floor concerned changing the wording to include a contingency clause. But as Helena Knapp, co-chair of the plenary, explained, the "calling upon" language was designed to be broad, so as to include many specific strategies, some of which would call for contingent Soviet action. But one delegate complained that the statement of principle would be misinterpreted and that "you can't explain it to the vast public." His move to substitute a contingency clause was soundly defeated by the crowd, which resembled a miniature political party convention.

During the whole conference the problem of interpretation was often raised. Would aspects of the new strategy be taken as a unilateral stance? During strategy sessions, some delegates said that they thought opposing deployment of the Euromissiles without tying it to a Soviet move might be regarded as a unilateral action. But Kehler argued that the campaign "must enact interim restraints to make sure the arms race on both sides does not hurtle forward, producing and deploying weapons that will undermine the possibility of a bilateral freeze." He emphasized at the end of the conference that the strategy remained "rigidly bilateral" and that every activity proposed by the campaign was seen as a step toward a bilateral freeze.

Despite Kehler's assurances, some outside observers, including the *Washington Post*, the *Chicago Tribune*, and Richard Perle, assistant secretary of defense for international security policy, immediately proclaimed that the freeze campaign was drifting toward unilateralism. "It was unfortunate that the 'calling upon' language wasn't explained better," says Jendrzejczyk. "The problem is that it *has* to be explained."

REMEMBER MOM

Another issue raised during strategy sessions has more tangible consequences for the campaign. As campaign strategy becomes more sophisticated, some delegates maintained, it might become harder to win grass-roots support. The campaign had to come up with a strategy that would take into account the intricacies and complexities of Capitol Hill, yet be comprehensible to the campaign's supporters.

During his keynote address at the start of the conference, retired Admiral Gene LaRocque, director of the Center for Defense Information, urged the delegates to arrive at a strategy that is "sound, sim-

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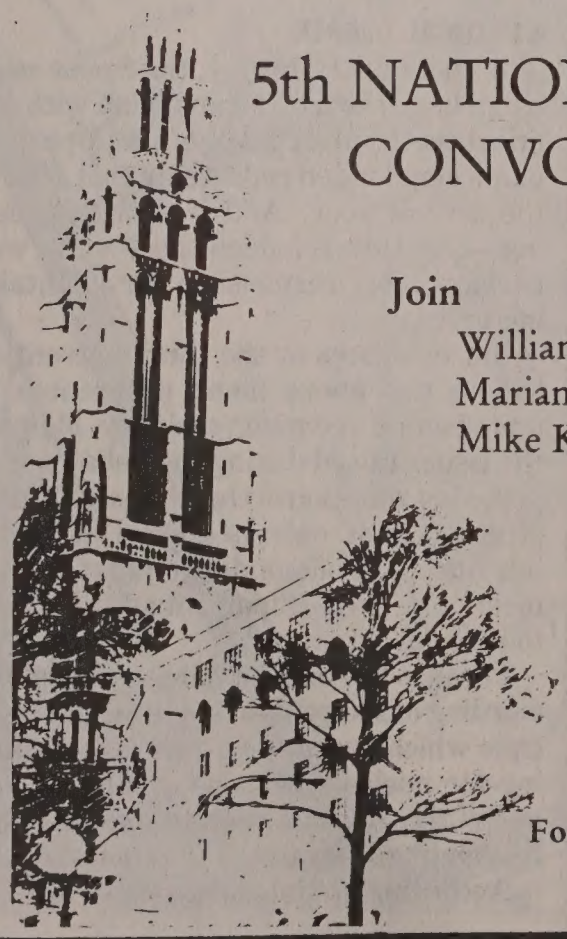

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ple and recognizably achievable." The value of the freeze, LaRocque said, is that his 87-year-old mother could understand it. The next day, while the campaign's leaders and delegates struggled to develop the 1983 strategy, the issue of preserving the freeze's simplicity was raised constantly. "I keep thinking of Gene's 87-year-old mother," Kehler commented during a dinner break.

"An attempt to lobby or rouse support for dealing with a particular weapons system would be terribly complicated and hard for people to understand," one delegate noted during a Saturday morning strategy session. "The problem with this strategy," another one said, "is that you need Jeremy Stone [director of the Federation of American Scientists] to explain it." Another delegate complained that using a phone tree for implementing parts of the new strategy would be hopeless. "The people on the other end of the phone," she added, "would not know what we are talking about."

But by the end of the conference, few delegates were complaining. Any reservations they previously had were overwhelmed by the spirit of goodwill that dominated the convention.

"Coming to this conference was spiritually uplifting," said a delegate from Boulder, Colorado, on the final day of the weekend. "You're out there often feeling you're involved in a lone struggle, but then you come here, meet all the others who are working with you, and feel a part of a movement that stands a good chance of success."

But does that mean that delegates caught up in the spirit of the occassion ended up avoiding some of the tough questions? Pam Solo doesn't believe so. "There was not a glossing over by any means," she observed afterward. "What was written and passed was responsive to what people had said through the entire weekend."

A WINNABLE FREEZE

Will the new strategy work? As the campaign's agenda for a winnable nuclear freeze expands, it must prepare to work on several fronts, all of which might not be victorious. This may make it more difficult for the movement to maintain its focus and its momentum. And one disarmament lobbyist says he believes the campaign's new legislative strategies were developed without taking the realities of the Hill into consideration. These tactics are aimed for the most part at the appropriations committees which, he notes, will not be receptive to the campaign's attempts to tack qualifying amendments on weapons appropriations bills. But he was clearly expressing a minority opinion at the conference.

Targeting individual weapons systems (particularly the cruise and Pershing II missiles), establishing itself not as a third party but as a "third force" in the 1984 elections—these are new steps for the campaign. And to achieve a freeze they are logical steps. If the President will not negotiate an end to the arms race, the campaign will press Congress to legislate arms control. And it will work to place in power those politicians who will actively support a freeze.

At the same time, the freeze campaign is seeking to expand its outreach and educational programs. Nothing will succeed without further support from the grass roots—that was the note sounded throughout the weekend. As the strategy of the freeze campaign becomes more sophisticated and complex, more broad-based educational work will be needed. The campaign is taking some bold steps—to the delight of nearly everyone who attended the convention. But it must remain careful not to place too much distance between its advanced guard and the grass roots.

Following the conference, the campaign's top priority is passage of the House resolution, which is expected to come up for a vote this month. To insure success, the campaign is staging freeze lobby days, March 7-8. Thousands of activists from across the nation will converge on Congress to lobby for the freeze. With 178 sponsors now, the resolution is expected to pass. But the campaign is trying to achieve a veto-proof margin of victory—two-thirds of the House. From there it will take the resolution to the Senate, where the fight will be more difficult.

Though the campaign is stretching, flexing its political muscle, and taking on new issues, its focus remains fixed on the bilateral, verifiable and comprehensive freeze. That is the movement's strength, Kehler noted repeatedly. In his opening remarks to the convention, he introduced the delegates to a traditional black spiritual that was the clarion call for both the abolitionist movement of the 19th century and the civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s. He declined to sing the song, but recited the song's chorus: "Keep your eyes on the prize, hold on, hold on."

Later that evening, when Dorothy Cotton, a close associate of Martin Luther King, Jr., presented her keynote address, she began with a powerful rendition of the song that brought the audience to its feet. Two days later, Kehler and a group of delegates opened the final plenary session by singing the song. The verses had been changed to reflect the specific issues relevant to the freeze campaign. But the chorus remained the same: "Keep your eyes on the prize, hold on, hold on."

—David Corn

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ATOMIC FILM COVER-UP

Why The Bomb Didn't Hit Home

The most passionate and powerful antinuclear movie was not made by a Hollywood producer or an independent documentary filmmaker. It was shot by a special motion picture unit under direct orders from President Harry S. Truman, the only man to initiate a nuclear attack.

Four months after the atomic bomb attacks on Japan in August 1945, a military film crew was sent to Hiroshima and Nagasaki to record the damage. The footage exposed the human toll of the bombings so dramatically that all 95,000 feet of color film (enough for 30 feature-length movies) were classified "top secret" in 1946 and concealed from the public.

Few Americans even knew the footage existed. The film might still be on the shelf gathering dust—still classified for all practical purposes—if not for Herbert Sussan, now retired and living in New York City after an award-winning career in television.

Sussan knew the film existed and he has never been able to forget it. When he was 24-years-old, Sussan was the production director for the movie crew sent to Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

For more than 30 years Sussan waged a one-man campaign to get the film released and shown on network television. During the 1950s and 1960s he spoke to Pentagon officials, Edward R. Murrow, Robert F. Kennedy and President Truman, among others. Repeatedly he was told—sometimes quite falsely—that the footage was still classified.

"I wanted to get the footage," Sussan explains, "so that the American people could see, firsthand, what the effects of the bombs were. And if they saw the effects, I felt there would be a groundswell against ever using nuclear weapons of any type again."

Mindful of this message, top officials in the Pentagon and the Atomic Energy Commission attempted to "have the film buried," according to the Air Force colonel who handled the footage after it left Herbert Sussan's hands. Until recently Americans were only allowed to glimpse brief, black and white newsclips of the devastation caused by the atomic bombs. Hidden, along with the film footage from Hiroshima and Nagasaki, was the horror of nuclear war, in full color, in real life, with real people.

THE 36-YEAR GAP

During the first Special Session on Disarmament at the United Nations in 1978, the Tokyo-based Hiroshima-Nagasaki Publishing Committee set up an exhibit of photographs taken in 1945 and 1946. Herbert Sussan visited the exhibit, recalls Tsutomu Iwakura, chief coordinator of the committee, which has prepared several books and films about the bombings.

"He noticed some of the photographs," Iwakura recalls, "and explained that he had filmed many of the same scenes himself." Iwakura was surprised to hear that Sussan had, in fact, shot thousands of feet of color film in Hiroshima and Nagasaki, although Sussan wasn't sure where the footage was kept, and whether it was still classified.

Iwakura began looking for the film and in 1979 he found it in Washington, D.C., at the National Archives. By 1981 Iwakura and the Hiroshima-Nagasaki Publishing Committee had raised enough money to begin purchasing a reprint of some of Sussan's footage. Nearly 500,000 Japanese had contributed to the committee's "Ten Foot Campaign"—donating $12 to $15 to purchase 10 feet of film. Iwakura's group produced two extraordinary films from the Sussan footage, which were shown during the U.N.'s second disarmament session last June. Until that time Sussan had seen virtually none of the footage he had shot 36 years earlier.

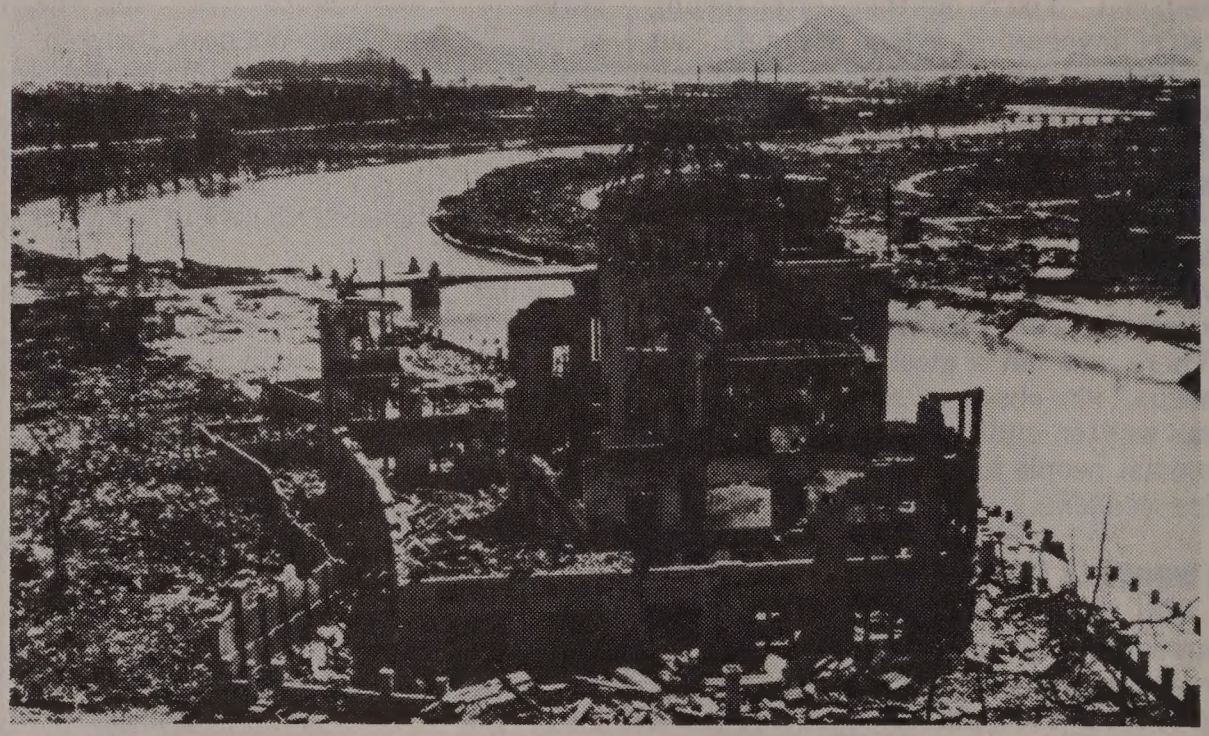
"It was the first time [American viewers] realized the extent of the horrible damage inflicted by the bomb," Iwakura says, describing the reaction to the film in New York. "It went way beyond what they even *thought* it could look like."

The only American documentary that has utilized any of the Sussan footage is *Dark Circle*, which premiered at the New York Film Festival last fall and will be shown across the country this spring. For a section on Japan, filmmakers Chris Beaver, Judy Irving and Ruth Landy interviewed survivors of the atomic bombing and juxtaposed it with film (in which the same people appeared) shot by Sussan in 1946.

Chris Beaver watched all 30 hours of the Sussan material at the National Archives. "The film is extremely gruesome," he reports. "Somebody's lost an eye and they [medical staff] will hold up a piece of glass to show how the injury would have happened. At one point the Japanese doctor takes off his coat and shows you his burns and his cuts. It's horrible. It's upsetting to look at very much of it." The first day Beaver viewed the footage he had to take a break when he started crying.

"You really get a sense of being there," Beaver says. "The color is vivid, rich. A shot might start on a pile of rubble and

W H A T • W E • S A W



UN PHOTO BY EIICHI MATSUMOTO

slowly rise into the air and you just see more and more and more, and you can't believe what you're seeing, how far it went on."

The use of color film was almost nonexistent in newsreels and documentaries of that period. "The color seems so much more real [than black and white]," Beaver says, "so much more immediate, that I think the American government didn't want to show it because they were afraid of what the reaction would be to our nuclear weapons policy. I think they didn't want Americans to see what we had actually done in Japan and they didn't want them to think about *themselves* being in that picture. It's one thing to know about that and another thing to see it."

THE TOP-SECRECY NETWORK

Near the end of 1945 a special motion picture unit of the U.S. Strategic Bombing Survey was ordered to film, in 38 days, the effectiveness of American air attacks on 22 Japanese cities.

Air Corps Lieutenant Daniel A. McGovern was in charge of the unit. Herbert Sussan, an Air Corps lieutenant stationed at a base outside of Tokyo, supervised much of the on-location shooting.

WHAT·WE·DIDN'T·SEE

(Before going overseas, Sussan had been assigned to a motion picture studio in Culver City, California, producing training films for the Air Corps. His squadron commander was Lieutenant Ronald Reagan.) Sussan and nine others boarded a special train in Tokyo, which took them to their first stop, Nagasaki. "From that moment," Sussan says, "my life was forever changed.

"We were sent on this trip without very much direction," Sussan recalls. "Nobody had prepared us for what was in this city as we went in. I was shocked. I could not believe what one bomb, what one little bomb could do. I felt that we were here in this moment, which hopefully would never be repeated, and if we didn't get a picture of what's happening—this holocaust—nobody would ever know.

"We weren't asked to cover all the medical effects. But when we got to Nagasaki, I arranged for Washington to be contacted and we were given unlimited time, because I felt we had to stay there as long as we could."

After ordering all of the color film available in the Pacific, Sussan's unit began filming the ruins and the survivors.

"We shot all the burn cases in the Omura Navy Hospital in Nagasaki and we kept logs of who they were, for medical history," Sussan says. "The worst burn case in the hospital was a young man. All the skin of this man's back had been entirely burned away. I never believed that young man would live. I winced when we turned the lights on to take the film [which appears in *Dark Circle*] but I thought we should take it. He was lying in a bed of penicillin. He lay there for over a year. And he did survive.

"We told the people that we'd like them to appear in these films because we hoped it would prove to the world that this weapon should not exist. I was 24-years-old and I was very idealistic and very naïvé, it turns out. I honestly felt that if we brought back these pictures and people throughout the world saw them, never again would anybody consider using this power for destructive purposes. If they [his superiors] had known what my point of view was, they probably would have stopped the project."

In March, Sussan was sent to Hiroshima. "We took pictures in Hiroshima," Sussan recalls, "where vaporized bodies—the remains of people in the bomb shelters—were given back [to relatives] in little wooden boxes. That's what was left of people in the shelters."

When the mission was completed in June 1946 the crew was abruptly ordered to bring the unprocessed film back to Washington "immediately." (Sussan had already been interviewed by John Hersey, who was researching his book, *Hiroshima.*) At the Pentagon, Sussan reported to Major General Orvil A. Anderson, who headed the Military Analysis Division of the Strategic Bombing Survey. "The MPs [military police] came," Sussan says, "took the footlockers [containing the reels of film] and the footage was taken to the Pentagon's basement."

Sussan completed a three-volume photographic report on his Japan mission for President Truman, and left the Air Force in December 1946. General Anderson, says Sussan, wanted him to stay in the service and make training films out of the footage, but Sussan "didn't like the attitude being expressed at that time." General Anderson, among others, thought it might be a good idea to unleash an atomic attack on the Soviets before they developed a huge nuclear arsenal. He called this strategy "preventative war." (For airing such views, Anderson was suspended from his post as commandant of the Air War College by the Truman Administration in 1950.)

When Sussan returned to his home in New York, he discovered that "six or seven months in bombed-out places really affected me. The first year after I came back was horrendous. I could not work. I used to walk through the streets and see keloid formations on people's faces—the scars from burns caused by the bomb. I used to look at buildings and imagine how they would look after a bombing. The townhouses on the East Side are very much like a lot of buildings in Hiroshima."

Allied Occupation officials in Japan were keeping strict control of all media coverage coming out of Hiroshima and Nagasaki; the United States denied, officially, that radioactive fallout was harmful. Sussan felt that there was "very little understanding of what nuclear weapons were or what had happened in those two cities, other than the one picture of the mushroom cloud that people had seen."

Besides concealing the Sussan film, the American government confiscated all of the footage taken by Japanese film crews in Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and declared it top secret. (See sidebar on page 12.) But the Department of Defense did release a 22-minute black-and-white film about the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, called *A Tale of Two Cities*. According to Tom Greenburg of the Center for Defense Information in Washington,

PHOTO PROPERTY HERBERT SUSSAN

Japanese Film Suppressed

Herbert Sussan is not the only director whose film record of the atomic attack on Japan was suppressed by American officials.

In September 1945, the Japanese government sent a documentary film unit, under the direction of Akira Iwasaki, to Hiroshima and Nagasaki. But on October 17 American military police arrested one of the Japanese cameramen in Nagasaki. American officials first prohibited further shooting, then ordered the unit, known as Nippon Eiga Sha, to complete their project. At the end of the filming in April 1946, all of the footage shot by the Japanese was confiscated by the Americans, sent to the United States, and classified "SECRET."

Repeatedly, in the following years, the Japanese government asked that this footage be returned, to no avail.

Early in 1968, Erik Barnouw, author of several influential books about broadcasting and non-fiction film, received in the mail a clipping from an English-language Japanese newspaper. It reported that, after 23 years, the U.S. Government had finally returned to Japan film footage shot in Hiroshima and Nagasaki by Japanese cameramen.

Barnouw had not known such footage existed. He wrote a letter to the Defense Department, asking whether Columbia University, where he was then chairman of the film department, could release this footage in America. The Defense Department set up a screening for Barnouw of the two and three-quarter hours of black and white footage at the National Archives in Washington.

The screening, Barnouw says, was a "revelation." He was shocked that documentation of such a momentous event had been declared secret and kept out of public view for so long. He had no idea how poorly he had "understood atomic weaponry," until he saw this footage.

After receiving a copy of the footage, Barnouw began fashioning the material into a documentary. Because so little of the footage showed the human costs of the bombings, Barnouw wondered whether U.S. authorities had destroyed part of the material. In a letter to Barnouw on June 27, 1968, R.A. Winnacker, Defense Department historian, denied that anything had been deleted from the Japanese footage (and made no reference to the Sussan material).

The first showing of the 16-minute film put together by Barnouw and his associates, *Hiroshima-Nagasaki, August 1945*, took place in January 1970. Representatives from the three major television networks were invited to the preview, but none attended. After a wire-service account appeared in many newspapers, hailing the screening as an historic event, the networks requested prints of the film. ABC and CBS subsequently decided that they had no interest in utilizing the film; NBC said it might be interested if it could find a "news hook." (Barnouw wondered "what sort of event that might call for.")

Finally, in August 1970, near the 25th anniversary of the Hiroshima bombing, the film was aired by the public television network. An understated documentary, *Hiroshima-Nagasaki* opens with scenes of physical destruction, and slowly builds to a brief, but unblinking, look at the medical effects of the bombing. (One station in Tampa, Florida, showed the film on a delayed basis, after cutting out scenes of human suffering.) However, these grainy, black-and-white pictures are not nearly as clear or compelling as Sussan's color footage.

Following the film's debut in the United States, TBS, an independent Japanese television network, acquired the rights to show the film in Japan. Barnouw later learned that this screening, in March 1970, caused a sensation in Japan. The government-run network, NHK, had showed the film earlier in a truncated version, with scenes of human misery deleted, purportedly "in deference to the relatives of the victims." (The A-bomb victims, or *hibakusha*, have not always been well treated by the Japanese government.) After TBS aired the complete film, one newspaper article thanked Barnouw for showing the Japanese people "what our own government tried to withhold from us." To this day the Japanese government has not allowed anyone, except for a few medical people, to see the Nippon Eiga Sha footage in its entirety.

The Barnouw film has been widely distributed in the United States and a new version, which comes with a 14-minute introduction by Barnouw, has just been released. Like Herbert Sussan, however, Barnouw wishes that this material had been aired a lot earlier. Speaking of the Japanese footage, and the Sussan material, Barnouw says: "If it hadn't been suppressed, and if the public had seen it and Congress had seen it in the 1950s, it would have been a lot harder to appropriate money to build more bombs."

—Greg Mitchell

which now distributes the film, the "sanitized" newsreel footage showed the physical effects of the atomic attack without mentioning human casualties; the film's narrator stressed that the cities returned to normal quickly. This was the official version of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and the only one the American public would know about for many years.

EVIDENCE TOO "SCIENTIFIC"

In 1947 Sussan learned that Jean Benoit-Levy, a famous French documentary filmmaker who emigrated to America in 1940, was working at the United Nations. Sussan met Benoit-Levy, executive director of the Council of Cinema at the U.N., for lunch, and told him that a film made out of his color footage would be the best way to show the world what atomic war was really like.

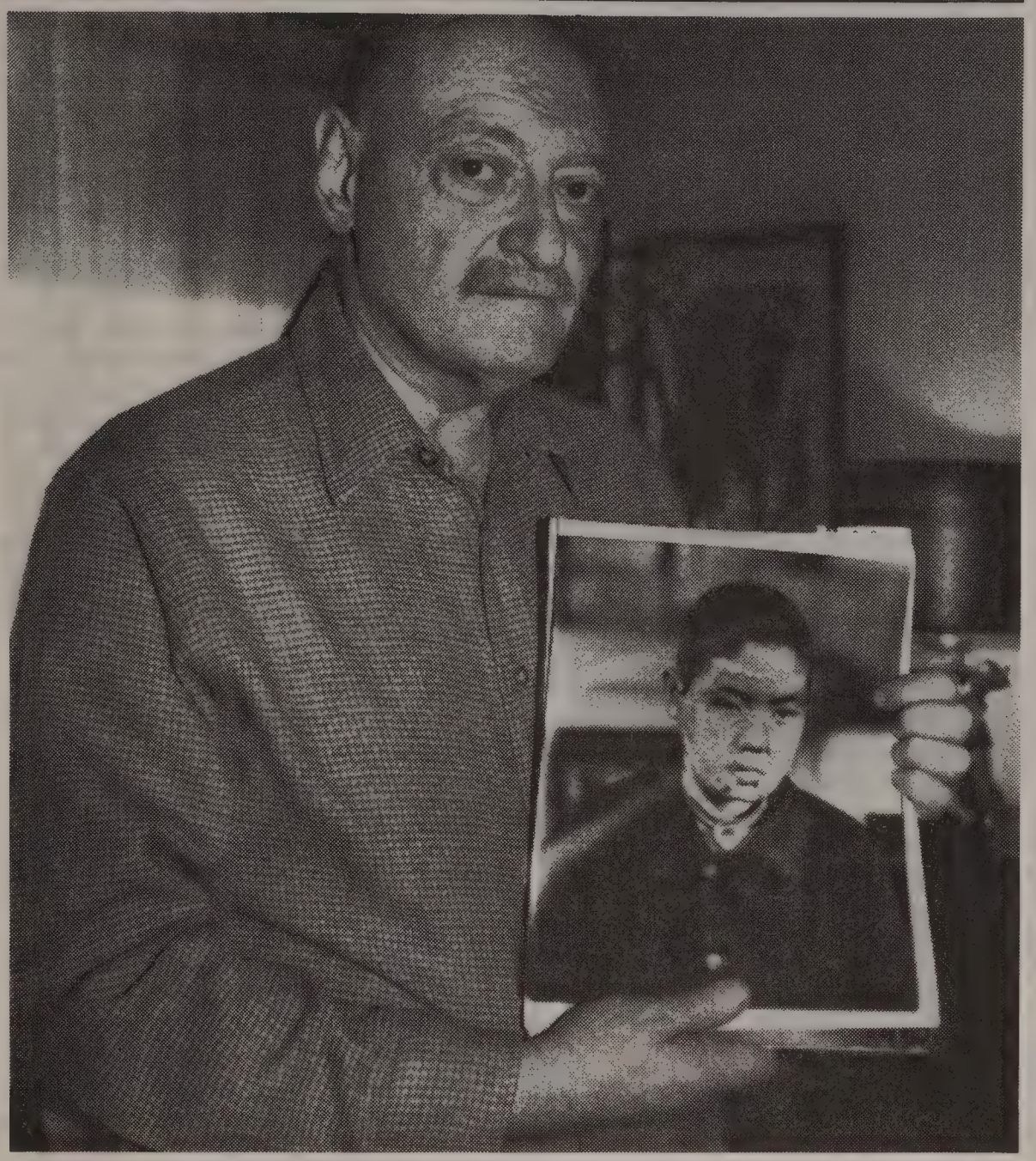
Benoit-Levy, according to Sussan, replied that this would be a "mistake," because "worldwide resentment of the United States for dropping the bomb would only be enlarged by releasing this footage." Sussan claims that Benoit-Levy "endorsed what the American government was doing in withholding the material."

In 1948, Sussan joined CBS in New York, the first step in a career that would earn him many top awards, including an Emmy and a Gold Medal from the Freedom Foundation. Two years later, with Secretary of Navy Francis Matthews advocating a war with the Soviets "to compel cooperation for peace" (as Matthews put it), Sussan decided to write to President Truman. In a letter to the President on September 25, 1950 Sussan suggested that "now is the time" for the "top secret" footage he had shot in Japan to be made into a full-length motion picture. "Such a film," Sussan wrote, "would vividly and clearly reveal the implications and effects of the weapons that confront us at this serious moment in our history . . . . The times fairly scream out for release of this motion picture material."

A reply from the White House was written on October 3, 1950. In this letter, Dallas Halverstadt, a presidential assistant in charge of Motion Picture Liaison, told Sussan that parts of his footage had been assembled by the RKO studios into four films. "Because the pictures were made for military training purposes," Halverstadt wrote, "they lack a wide public appeal . . . . The Air Force informs me that because of the record and scientific nature of the footage it would, indeed, be very difficult to attempt to remake any of this footage into a film which might have wide public appeal or information value."

At CBS, Sussan met Edward R. Mur-

Sussan with copy of book he gave to Truman . . .



row who, as host of *See It Now*, was the most influential newsman on television. Sussan wanted to make a documentary, narrated by Murrow. "I thought it would be particularly valuable if his voice was part of it. With Mr. Murrow's involvement I would also have the kind of person who had the prestige to get the [classified] footage.

"But he investigated and felt, no, it wasn't the thing for him to do. I was shocked by his lack of interest. He didn't have to give any reason, he was the star. CBS News agreed." (One of Murrow's close friends was David Lilienthal, first chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission.)

Sussan became senior producer for NBC's heralded *Wide Wide World*, a 90-minute Sunday afternoon program hosted by Dave Garroway, in 1955. He approached NBC News and co-anchor Chet Huntley about obtaining the footage. "I thought Huntley and David Brinkley would be very instrumental in obtaining the film," Sussan says, "particularly Brinkley, who had excellent contacts in Washington. But NBC News felt this was not a subject they wanted to get into.

"You have to remember the period we're talking about," Sussan says. "The United States had been criticized throughout the world for dropping the bomb, and the criticism had not ended. The American government was still very sensitive to this. None of the networks was going to fight what both the military and government said—that the material is classified. That was a different world than today. Whatever the military or the government said, nobody questioned."

Whenever his work took him to Washington, Sussan inquired about the film. In 1956 when he produced *Force for Survival*, a program saluting the armed services, he met the Secretary of Defense and the Joint Chiefs of Staff. Replying to Sussan's inquiry, Defense Secretary Neil McElroy wrote that the film was still classified.

When Sussan was developing a television series in 1962 for Columbia Pictures called *The Law Enforcers*, he met Robert F. Kennedy, then attorney general, and asked about his film. Again he was informed that the footage was classified and "the attorney general's office would not or could not get this film declassified," Sussan claims.

Although the answer by now was predictable, Sussan didn't stop asking about the film. As head of international production for Screen Gems, Sussan arranged for the filming of a 39-part series called *The Decisions of Harry Truman*. Sussan and his wife had lunch with the former President several times in New York during 1963 and 1964. "I asked him about this film," Sussan says. "He said he wasn't aware of it but would check on it. Then I was told—it was classified and cannot be declassified."

After all these rebuffs, Sussan was frustrated and disappointed. "I was just a single person, not powerful," he explains. "I didn't have an organization, I was trying to do this on my own. If there was any group, 20 years ago, that I felt would be meaningful in making the film available, I would have gone to them."

Sussan finally got his first look at the footage when a friend obtained from the Pentagon the military training films made in the late 1940s. Sussan watched for just a few minutes before getting "ill." One of the films, titled *Strategic Attack*, showed how to use an atomic bomb in battle, "which is not what I shot the footage for," Sussan points out. Sussan has learned that the narrator of at least one of these films was Edward R. Murrow.

SEALED WITH RED TAPE

Herbert Sussan finally found out, in 1973, where his film was being stored. A friend had heard that the footage was being kept at the Defense Department's film depository at Norton Air Force Base in California.

On a visit to the base, Sussan visited the office of Daniel A. McGovern, who had supervised Sussan's film unit in Hiroshima and Nagasaki (as well as all of the Japanese newsreel teams). McGovern, a retired colonel working at the base as a film producer, directed him to the area where records on all footage were stored.

. . . and in Japan, 1946

PHOTO BY CARRIE BORETZ (TOP)
PHOTO PROPERTY DANIEL A. MCGOVERN (BOTTOM)

Sussan found the card file on his film which indicated, he says, that the footage was still classified. Sussan left Norton empty-handed, unaware that the film had actually been declassified several years before and was sitting in the National Archives in Washington.

A researcher at the Archives, Bob Finley, who managed to track down some records on the film, reports that it was "declassified after 12 years" as part of a group of material automatically declassified after an established period of time had elapsed. The records show that the film's classification status was "downgraded" every four years and that it was declassified in 1959 (long before Sussan's meetings with Kennedy and Truman). It was transferred from Wright-Patterson Air Force Base near Dayton, Ohio, to the Archives in February 1962. But apparently the card files and indexes on the film at the Norton base were never relabled to denote this change in secrecy status.

Today, Pentagon officials are reluctant to discuss how the film became declassified and why it was ever classified at all. In any event, when it was declassified no one bothered to tell Herbert Sussan.

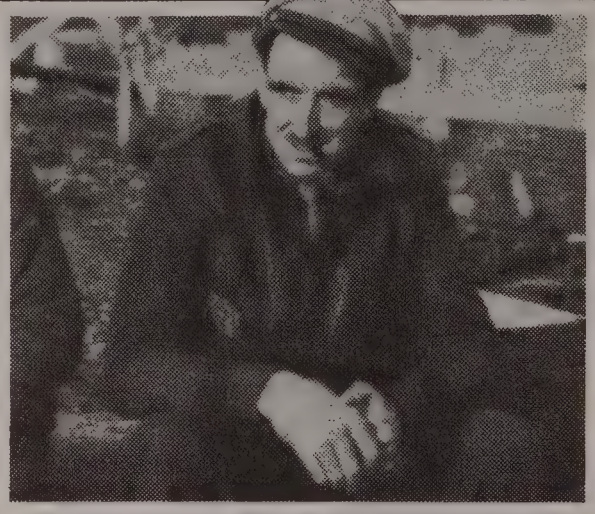
As a result, the footage remained hidden until 1979 (when it was uncovered by Tsutomu Iwakura), long after it arrived at the National Archives. As Edwin Thompson, director of the Archives' declassification division puts it: "If no one asks for the film it's as closed as when it was classified."

BURIED TRUTH

One person who can speak with authority about what happened to the color footage shot in Hiroshima and Nagasaki is Daniel McGovern, who admits he "had control" of it for many years. A self-described "conservative" who does not fully share Herbert Sussan's antinuclear views, McGovern, 72, left Norton in 1980, and now lives in Northridge, California.

In 1946 McGovern and Major General Orvil Anderson (with whom he served as an aide for three years) wanted to make military training films out of the color footage. But this, McGovern explains, caused "quite a problem." Top brass in the Pentagon and at the Atomic Energy Commission did not want the footage to have even a limited circulation; they wanted the footage "buried," McGovern says.

"I was told by those people that—hell no and damn no—they did not want that material shown," McGovern says, "because it showed the horrible effects on man, woman and child. They were fearful of it being circulated." Finally, after a



McGovern in Nagasaki

strong argument by General Anderson, the Pentagon provided $80,000 so that RKO, with McGovern's assistance, could make the four training films. But first the entire footage was declared "secret."

McGovern has retained a copy of a March 3, 1947 memorandum which explains why the footage was classified. In the document, Major Francis E. Rundell of the Air Corps notes that the "secret" status was arrived at "after study of subject material, especially concerning the footage taken at Hiroshima and Nagasaki. . . . It is believed that the information contained in the films should be safeguarded until cleared by the Atomic Energy Commission." After the training films were completed, Rundell wrote, the classification of the material "will be raised to 'Top Secret' pending final classification by the Atomic Energy Commission."

The main reason the footage was classified, according to McGovern, was because of its "medical aspects, the horror, the devastation it showed."

One project backed by Anderson did not come to fruition. In a memorandum to the Commanding General of the Army Air Forces on July 10, 1946, Anderson revealed that Warner Brothers Studios in Hollywood had offered to produce a feature film for public release in this country at no cost to the government. The proposed film, based on the color footage, would "portray dramatically the results achieved by the Army Air Forces against Japan, and is intended for showing to a national audience of 80,000,000 people." (Anderson stated that the Warner Brothers film could be used for "indoctrination purposes." He may have wanted to show Americans what awaited them—atomic devastation—if they did not back his plan for a preemptive strike on the Soviets, McGovern believes.)

But the Warner Brothers project "fell by the wayside," McGovern says. It was the AEC, not the Air Force, he charges, that kept the explicit truth of Hiroshima and Nagasaki from the public. "The AEC had power of god over everybody," McGovern says. "They did not want that film released. They were the ones that stopped it. At a time when they were working on upcoming atomic tests they didn't want the general public to know what the weapon had already done."

After outtakes from the training films were shipped to the Air Force's film depository at Wright-Patterson, McGovern spent a year there cataloging the dozens of reels of film. McGovern says that until it was shipped to the National Archives, the footage was under his control within the Air Force but he did not have authority to declassify it.

"Herb [Sussan] was frustrated that he couldn't get his hands on the material," McGovern says, "but I had been told that under no circumstances would it be released."

EFFECTS AND A CAUSE

Herbert Sussan feels it's ironic that he was sent to Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1946, while his boss, Ronald Reagan, stayed behind at a film studio in California. "Reagan," Sussan notes, "still doesn't know the true effects of the atomic bomb, obviously."

Sussan may have suffered ill-effects himself. He has been stricken with lymphoma, a form of cancer common among atomic bomb survivors in Japan and soldiers and civilians exposed to fallout from nuclear tests. Sussan feels his illness may have been caused by his months of exposure to residual radiation in Hiroshima and Nagasaki. According to studies of atomic survivors in Japan, lymphoma has an extremely long latency period.

At least two other members of the 10-man U.S. film crew also got cancer; one

Where To Find It

To see the unedited Sussan film (#342 USAF, reels 11,000-11,079), contact the National Archives, Motion Picture Branch, Pennsylvania Avenue and 7th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20408 (202-786-0041), well in advance. Iwakura's documentary films, *The Prophecy* and *Lost Generation*, are also available at the Archives. *Dark Circle* will be shown in many parts of the country during March and April. For information about *Dark Circle* showings write to the Independent Documentary Group, 394 Elizabeth Street, San Francisco, California 94114. The new videotape version of Erik Barnouw's film, *Hiroshima-Nagasaki, August 1945* (see sidebar) can be purchased ($200) or rented ($50) from Electronic Arts Intermix, 84 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10011.

PHOTO PROPERTY DANIEL A. MCGOVERN

died last year and McGovern has skin cancer. (The whereabouts of the other seven crew members is unknown.)

"The American government told us when we first went in that there was no radiation, that it was all gone—the bomb had been detonated 1600 feet in the air," Sussan says. "So we had no worry, we just walked right in, we drank the water"—Sussan laughs—"we did everything, nobody understood the bomb and its potential long-term effects."

Sussan, 62, lives with his wife in Manhattan, where he is working on a book. He has been too ill lately to renew his fight to get some of the footage on network television, but calling attention to the existence of the film remains "the goal of my life," he says.

"All I want to do for the next two to five years, or whatever time I have, is to work to make people understand that this kind of weapon must be erased from the face of the earth," Sussan says. "They must understand the dimensions they're dealing with."

The Sussan footage is still compelling today, *Dark Circle*'s Chris Beaver believes. "When the government is trying to sell the American people on civil defense and that we can survive a nuclear war, this footage," Beaver says, "is awfully bad publicity."

Sussan says that he is very happy to see that when parts of the footage are used, as in *Dark Circle*, "they're very effective with the audience, but I would like it to reach a broader audience. I think one of the problems today in antinuclear activities is that they use people who can't back up what they're saying with effective visual material that tells the story. Nobody can visualize 40,000 nuclear bombs. Those discussions of numbers are meaningless. I don't think I'm capable, individually, of telling the story but I think the film is, properly used.

"Eventually the world will finally see a small bit of what the true reality of the nuclear age is. I saw what happened to a little piece of land in Japan. If you can translate that into big pieces of land in the United States and in Europe, and visualize it all happening at once, and then realize after millions of people are destroyed that radiation will keep blowing around the rest of the earth, then you've got a picture of what the world will be like. What do you have when you're finished? What do you leave to your children? No world at all."

—Susan Jaffe

Susan Jaffe covers nuclear issues for the Village Voice *and has written articles for* Ms., The New Statesman, Mother Jones *and other publications. Greg Mitchell provided research assistance for this article.*

"A STUNNER!
A MOVIE THAT HAS ONE HOWLING WITH LAUGHTER, HORROR AND DISBELIEF!"—Vincent Canby, N.Y. Times

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CIVIL DEFENSE CURRICULUM

Survivalism In The Schools

Is nuclear war just another man-made disaster that can be survived with the help of modern technology, an able military, and a cooperative, well-trained citizenry? More than 80,000 American school children have recently been taught that the answer to this question is a confident "Yes, indeed."

During the 1981-82 school year, the Federal Emergency Management Agency ran a pilot program of its new K-12 (kindergarten through 12th grade) curriculum, *Emergency Management Instruction*, in 22 states. It should be ready for "possible nationwide deployment" in public schools by September 1983, according to Jim Bunton, FEMA's education specialist. While staunchly defended by Bunton, this federally-funded curriculum has been highly criticized by the Union of Concerned Scientists, the National Education Association and Educators for Social Responsibility.

Bunton describes the curriculum as a comprehensive "all disasters" approach. It describes procedures to follow in the event of natural disasters such as hurricanes and floods, and man-made disasters, including fire and pollution hazards. Of the 10 chapters in the K-3 curriculum, one focuses solely on nuclear war. Bunton admits that "nuclear attack is considered the most extreme type of disaster," but maintains that it is a "manageable" disaster. "It's a hazard just like a flood or an earthquake," he says. "And we need to be prepared for all of them."

Natalie Goldring of the Union of Concerned Scientists in Boston disagrees. "The curriculum is misleading and potentially dangerous," she says. "By placing nuclear war within the framework of other disasters it leads users into assuming these can be treated in the same way, and they cannot. It gives people false hope by perpetuating the questionable assumption that nuclear war is survivable, let alone manageable. Through imprecise wording, though perhaps not deliberate, it misleads those without technical knowledge."

Rife with euphemism, couched in a tone of calm reassurance, the curriculum portrays "nuclear or radiological emergency" as inevitable, manageable, and hence survivable. For instance, one of the teachers' manuals which accompany the activity workbooks (organized by grades K-3, 4-6, 7-9, and 10-12) notes that "people who happen to be close to a nuclear explosion probably would be killed or seriously injured . . . most of the people in the fringe area would survive . . . and those outside the fringe area would not be affected. . . ." The fringe areas are described as "a few miles away."

The curriculum teaches that exposure to radiation is one hazard of nuclear war: "The result is somewhat analogous to sunlight—long exposure in one day can be harmful, while the same total exposure distributed over a few weeks produces a nice tan." It continues: "It should be emphasized that there is no unique disease associated with the long term effects of radiation; these effects manifest themselves in human populations simply as a statistical increase in the incidence of certain already existing conditions."

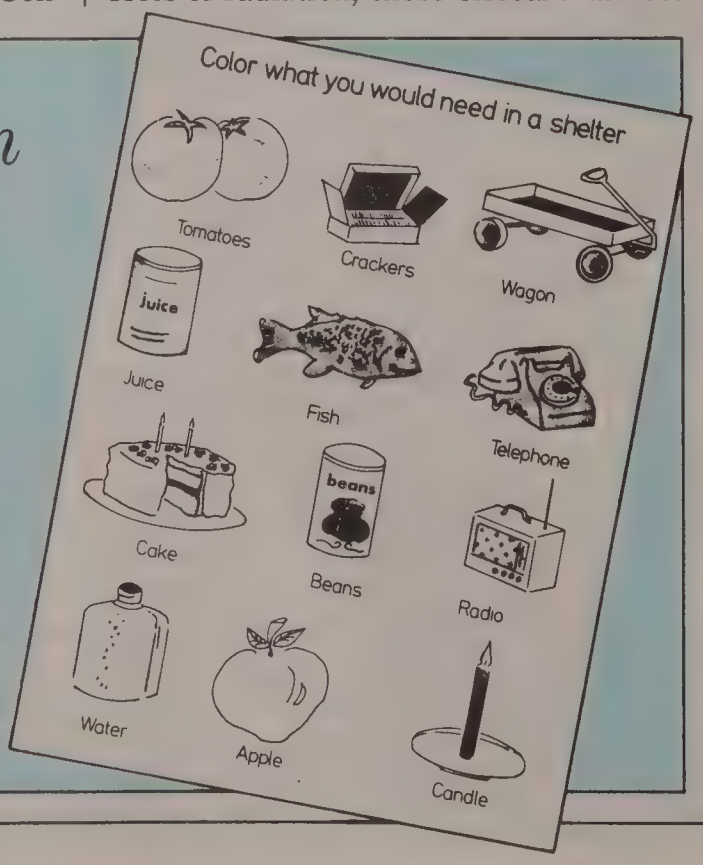
What's more, in this literature people can be protected from radiation in fallout shelters—the "focus" of the nationwide emergency preparedness system that is "constantly being enlarged and improved." For a detailed description of the rigors of shelter living, which is "unlikely" to be "required for more than a week or two" the curriculum cites FEMA's own publications, *Protection In the Nuclear Age*, updated in 1977, and *In Time of Emergency: A Citizen's Handbook on Emergency Management*, reprinted in 1980.

One passage attempts to mitigate children's fears: "If an enemy should threaten to attack the United States, *you would not be alone*. The entire Nation would be mobilizing to repulse the attack, destroy the enemy, and hold down the loss of life. Much assistance would be available from local, State, and Federal governments, the U.S. Armed Forces units in the area and fellow Americans. If an attack should come, many lives would be saved through effective emergency preparations and actions."

While it is not suggested that children practice how to "duck and cover," the curriculum promotes several activities for the students. For example, K-3 students should determine the location of fallout shelters in their town, visit a shelter, and practice emergency drills. Teachers are told to arrange for a local official to demonstrate the "ALERT AND ATTACK WARNING signals." The local emergency coordinator should be brought in to explain Crisis Relocation Planning. And in order to learn the "peacetime uses of radioactive materials," classes should go on a field trip to a nearby nuclear power plant.

The technical accuracy of scientific information used in the curriculum is debatable. Bunton asserts that FEMA used "the most up-to-date technical information available." Yet the UCS found the curriculum both overly simplistic and lacking in scientific data that is readily available through the government's own studies. The teacher's manuals contain no bibliography. The activities workbooks, while citing FEMA pamphlets and even a CIA report, mention neither the Congressionally-funded Office of Technology Assessment (OTA) report,

The curriculum portrays "nuclear emergency" as inevitable, manageable, and hence survivable.



The Effects of Nuclear War, completed in 1979, nor the 1975 Department of Defense/Department of Energy 700-page technical report, *Long-Term Worldwide Effects of Multiple Nuclear Weapons Detonations*.

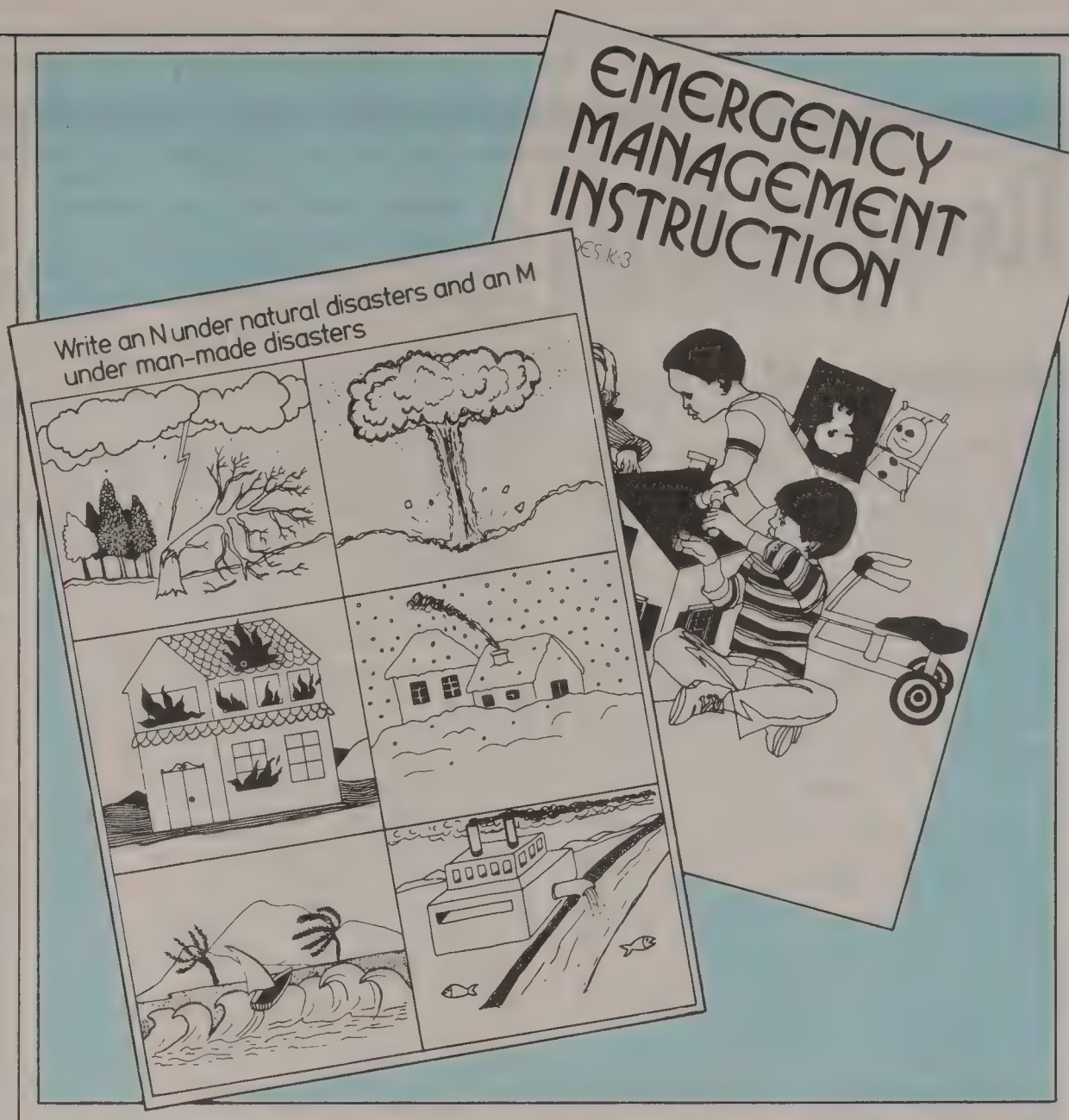
The most disturbing technical shortcoming of the curriculum, according to UCS's Goldring, is the omission of information on the blast, fire, shock, and electromagnetic effects of weapon detonation, which is so extensively detailed in the OTA and Defense Department reports. The result, says Goldring, is "an overly optimistic" presentation of who would survive initial attack. Questionable too is how much of the infrastructure would remain—communications systems, food supplies, potable water, medical facilities, transportation networks, military installations. Even adequately stocked fallout shelters would be vulnerable since they were never designed to withstand blast effects.

Feedback on the accuracy of scientific content was not solicited by the FEMA evaluation questionnaire given to the 4325 teachers who used the curriculum in their classrooms. They were only asked to comment "from the point of view of something to be put in front of kids, on how well it worked in the classroom in terms of format, organization, graphics, and the like," says John Thomas of Far West Laboratories in San Francisco, the educational consulting firm that FEMA has contracted to summarize field results.

Given these very narrow limitations of teacher evaluation, Thomas says that an "overwhelming majority of the teachers found the curriculum to be good." However, he points out, the teachers involved in the pilot "were people who would have thought the content appropriate beforehand and had expressed a willingness to use the curriculum in their classrooms."

Thomas disclosed that the summary report Far West Labs was to make to FEMA in February would state that the curriculum is not well designed and is in need of significant revision. "It teaches kids too much about the nature of disasters," Thomas says, "and not enough about exactly what they can and should do in an emergency situation."

Betsy Schultz, a high school science teacher in Oakland who participated in the pilot program, also found the curriculum disappointing. The information regarding nuclear war, she says, is "totally unrealistic." Nuclear war, she adds, is "just another disaster the way it's presented." She declined to use the nuclear war section of the FEMA curriculum. Instead, her school developed its own curriculum on nuclear war that, according to Schultz, stressed "the realities of the nuclear issue and how the possibility for change in nuclear policy exists if people organize and put pressure on the government."



But how receptive to FEMA's program are most of the nation's schools likely to be? One past FEMA curriculum, *Your Chance To Live*, published in 1972, did not meet with much success and was eventually shelved. But few school systems currently have a curriculum for teaching children even basic survival skills, and many educators feel that a comprehensive nationwide education in safety and disaster is urgently needed. This may well account for Jim Bunton's statement that most teachers are happy to receive *Emergency Management Instruction*; indeed, he says, they are "chafing at the bit for it."

Money is also a factor in the schools' receptivity to the FEMA curriculum. Rick Collett, who as President of the Oakland Chapter of the Educators for Social Responsibility persuaded the Oakland School Board to reject the pilot program, points out that the extra federal money provided to fund the program will be an attractive incentive to financially pressed school districts.

At present the Bay Area chapter of ESR is the only organization in the country actively working to prevent the curriculum's use. It is currently presenting critical evaluations to six more Bay Area school boards. The UCS, along with the National Education Association, has already field-tested a curriculum on nuclear war and arms control for junior high school students, and the ESR has distributed its own curriculum to 2500 teachers.

When asked why more organizations are not opposing FEMA's curriculum, Collett said that few groups know about the program. Those that do, he adds, do not seem to realize its implications. In the short term, FEMA hopes its curriculum will provide "another way of getting at the parents, at the general public, making them aware of the need for preparedness for all emergencies, including nuclear war," according to FEMA's Bunton. But it is the long-term effect that most disturbs Collett.

"The underlying principle of *Emergency Management Instruction*," he says, "is to educate every child in the United States that nuclear war is survivable. When future generations of kids grow up believing this, then nuclear war becomes a far more viable option."

—Metta Winter

Metta Winter is a freelance writer based in Ithaca, New York. Her work has appeared in the Christian Science Monitor, The Plain Dealer, The Los Angeles Times, *and other periodicals.*

ILLUSTRATIONS FROM EMERGENCY MANAGEMENT INSTRUCTION MANUAL

Round-Up

50 Arrested At El Toro

■ On February 9, 50 people were arrested in Orange County, California, where they were blockading the entrance to the El Toro Marine Base. The protest, organized by the Los Angeles Catholic Worker, was designed to prevent people from participating in the second day of the annual Winter Conference of Electronic and Electrical Engineers.

"WINCON '83: The Reagan Military Posture" was attended by representatives of arms manufacturers, the Pentagon, and the Administration, according to Ellie Cohen of Alliance for Survival. Two days before the arrests a candlelight vigil of 600 people, sponsored by the Orange County Alliance for Survival, was held in the pouring rain in front of the Disneyland Hotel, where those attending the conference were staying.

Orange County is among the top five counties in the country receiving Pentagon funding, according to Cohen. The Los Angeles Catholic Worker and Alliance for Survival have been protesting WINCON for four years. They are asking for cuts in the defense budget and for planned economic conversion.

—Alex Sichel

N.Y. Hospitals Reject Pentagon Emergency Plan

■ The New York City chapter of Physicians for Social Responsibility has successfully organized local hospitals to oppose the Pentagon's new Civilian-Military Contingency Hospital System (CMCHS) program, an emergency plan for coping with the results of a nuclear war in Europe.

The plan, introduced in New York in September 1982, calls for hospitals nationwide to reserve 50,000 civilian beds in the event of a "future large scale war overseas that will probably begin and end very rapidly and produce casualities at a higher rate than any other war in history." At the urging of PSR, every major hospital in the New York metropolitan area has rejected the plan.

The opposition to CMCHS in New York has included a broad spectrum of hospital employees, from interns to trade union members to medical school deans. "It's the first time that any kind of coalition has developed through all levels of medicine," says Dr. Jonathan Lorch, president of New York PSR. "Now we know that it's possible for the more traditional medical groups and the trade unions to come together against nuclear war."

All New York City hospitals already have operational disaster plans, says Lorch. But there was another reason for opposing the program. The Pentagon's CMCHS plan, explains Dr. Ephraim Friedman, dean of Albert Einstein College of Medicine, has "no real meaning except as a propaganda effort that suggests we have the medical capability to deal with the millions of casualties that would result from a nuclear war." He adds, "This is a dangerous attitude."

Lorch agrees. "The plan is unworkable," he says. "But the government never expected to meet such overwhelming resistance from us." The prognosis for the CMCHS program, Lorch adds, is not hopeful. The plan calls for New York, with its combination of airfields and hospital beds, to play a crucial role in the program. And, says Lorch, "If they ain't got us, they ain't got nothing."

—Renata Rizzo

Target Seattle To Send Delegates To Soviet City

■ On March 20, a delegation from Target Seattle, a coalition of 50 antinuclear organizations, will leave for the Soviet Union with a letter calling for a U.S.-Soviet effort to prevent nuclear war. The delegation will present the letter to officials of the city of Tashkent, the Soviet sister city of Seattle. The letter, signed by over 40,000 residents of the Seattle metropolitan area, asks both superpowers to "create peaceful means of resolving conflicts and to take steps to reduce the danger of nuclear war." The 30-member delegation will meet with officials in Moscow and Samarkand before traveling to Tashkent.

"The basic purpose of this undertaking," says Jarlath Hume, an organizer for Target Seattle, "is to establish a direct line of communication between the people of Tashkent and Seattle." Residents have been communicating with each other since the sister city project was begun in 1973. Last year Seattle Mayor Charles Royer proclaimed February 14 "Tashkent Day," when an eight-member delegation from the Soviet city visited Seattle.

—Bruce Komarow

Protesters Block MX Base

■ One hundred and seventy antinuclear protesters were arrested January 24 in a non-violent blockade of the main gate of Vandenberg Air Force, in Lompoc, California, testing site for the MX missile if a basing mode is ever approved by Congress. The demonstration, organized by the Berkeley-based Livermore Action Group and other antinuclear groups, was originally planned as an occupation of the base to disrupt the initial test flight of the MX, scheduled for the week of January 21-27 until the Congress in December froze MX production funds.

Protesters confront police at Vandenberg

PHOTO BY DWAYNE NEWTON

At 7 a.m. protesters at the main gate began moving in groups of five to 10 people onto the roadway in an attempt to block traffic. Local military police dragged or carried away many of the protesters. One group of 30 entered the north end of the base and hiked to within a mile of the MX launching site, according to base commander Major General Jack Watkins.

Of those arrested, 100 were released after being given "Ban and Bar" orders prohibiting them from returning to the base under threat of prosecution. Thirty-seven were arbitrarily selected for arraignment before a federal magistrate. Most of the arraigned chose to do 20 hours of community service, and 10 served three days in jail. Thirty-three arrested on state property were given trespassing citations and released.

The Vandenberg Action Coalition, comprised of LAG and other peace groups, has announced plans for a legal rally on March 20 followed by a week of "non-violent direct action." The protest will coincide with congressional consideration of President Reagan's recommended MX basing mode. **—John Raymond**

BY ROBERT FRIEDMAN

How America Gets Up In Arms

The Northrop Corporation, which makes the inertial guidance system for the MX missile, wants you to know that it believes in a free press. United Technologies, which builds the jet engines for B-52 bombers and other tactical fighters, wants you to know that the media is biased. And McDonnell Douglas, which manufactures the Tomahawk cruise missile, wants you to know that freedom without military power is no freedom at all.

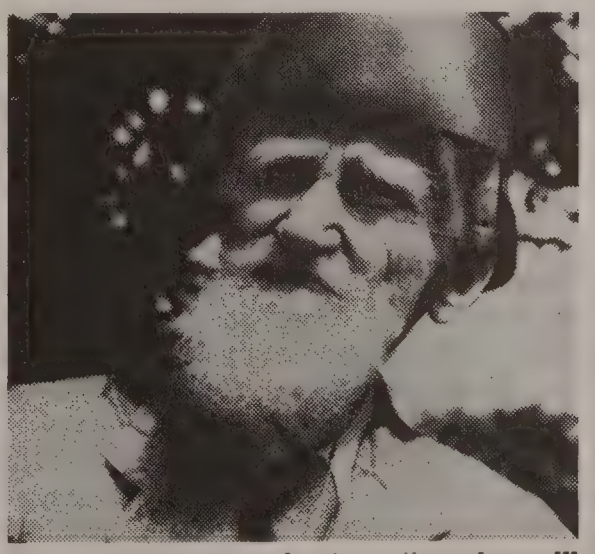
What all these companies have in common, aside from being among the nation's top 15 defense contractors, is the expenditure of a good deal of money on corporate-image advertising. Considering how deeply they are involved in the dirty business of nuclear weapons, this is not altogether surprising. For the price of just a few spare parts, they can wash their hands on the Op-Ed page of *The New York Times*.

Of course, none of the copy writers toiling away namelessly on behalf of America's military-industrial complex is as forthright as Andrew Undershaft, the arms merchant in George Bernard Shaw's *Major Barbara* whose motto was "Unashamed," and whose creed was "To give arms to all men who offer an honest price for them, without respect of persons or principles." Instead, they hide behind such Madison Avenue anthropomorphisms as "Where science gets down to business" (Rockwell, whose business is making the plutonium triggers for atomic warheads); "We bring good things to life" (General Electric, which makes, among other good things, the neutron generators that activate thermonuclear devices); and "We'll show you a better way" (Honeywell, whose electronic components guide missiles to their designated targets).

The Northrop ads—they're the company that's "Making advanced technology work"—appear regularly in the *Columbia Journalism Review*. Each one features a single quote by a prominent American on the meaning of a free press. Presumably, these bold-faced statements are intended to convince the editors and publishers who read this magazine that Northrop is on their side. (In fact, Thomas Jones, the chairman of Northrop, was, for many years, a director of the Los Angeles Times Company.) But it doesn't take much digging to discover that the aerospace manufacturer had a serious public relations problem a few years back when word got out about its extensive overseas bribery. Or even worse, when chairman Jones was revealed to have given one of Nixon's bagmen $75,000 in cash—money that ended up going to pay the defense bills of the Watergate burglars.

McDonnell Douglas, another weapons contractor that is running a lot of corporate-image advertising these days, has also had its share of bad press. A series of crashes involving its commercial DC-10 jets nearly wrecked the company's reputation a few years ago. And early last year the General Accounting Office raised questions about the accuracy of the cruise-missile guidance system it designed. Instead of sending love letters to the press, like its rival Northrop, McDonnell Douglas retaliated swiftly and forcefully to this most recent threat. In full-page ads in *Time*, *Newsweek*, and other publications targeted at a Washington audience, it trumpeted the missile's praises: "Neither snow nor rain, no, nor leaves, nor gloom of night stays Cruise missiles from the swift completion of their appointed rounds. The Tomahawk Cruise missile. A missile that works in all seasons."

In keeping with its tough-guy image, the St. Louis-based aerospace company also ran a number of ads in *Aviation Week* magazine raising the spectre of a Soviet invasion. One of these ads, prepared by the J. Walter Thompson agency, shows a map of the Bering Straits under the headline, "How to take the worry out of being close."



Shaw's weapons merchant was "unashamed"

PHOTO BY WIDE WORLD

The point of this campaign, according to John Bickers, director of advertising for McDonnell Douglas, is to combat the company's number one public-relations problem: the perception that the United States is spending too much on weapons. Bickers denies, however, that his company is concerned about the impact of the antinuclear weapons movement. "There is no growth in the peace movement in this country," he said in an interview with *Nuclear Times*. "These people might be loud, but they are not many, and we're not doing anything different because of them."

Most defense contractors prefer to keep their weapons business in low profile, advertising only in such trade journals as *Aviation Week*, where they can talk about "warhead capabilities" and "lethality" as if they were in the privacy of their own boardrooms. As Steve Barber, manager of marketing and communications for General Electric, puts it, "I don't think you're going to find anyone dumb enough to try to sell the idea of weaponry to the public just because they have a vested interest in selling to the military."

One company that tried recently was Grumman, which hired the Marsteller agency to help revamp its corporate image. The idea, according to a company spokesman, was to convey the impression that Grumman was no longer "gray and stolid." So the agency came up with a somewhat surrealistic ad-campaign using conceptual art to promote a reconnaissance aircraft.

This corporate paint job was largely at taxpayers' expense, since 85 percent of Grumman's revenues come from the federal treasury. Indeed, one may question what companies like Grumman or McDonnell Douglas, which does nearly half its business with the Pentagon, are doing advertising weapons systems that are presold (at exorbitant prices) to their only customer—the U.S. government—and then writing off the cost of these ads. Or what a company such as United Technologies, which earns more than $4.5 billion a year from its government contracts, is doing running advocacy ads in *The Atlantic* magazine decrying government regulation and attacking the media for having an "ideological and political tilt" against the free-enterprise system. □

EUROPEAN TRADE UNIONS

Converting Plants to Peace

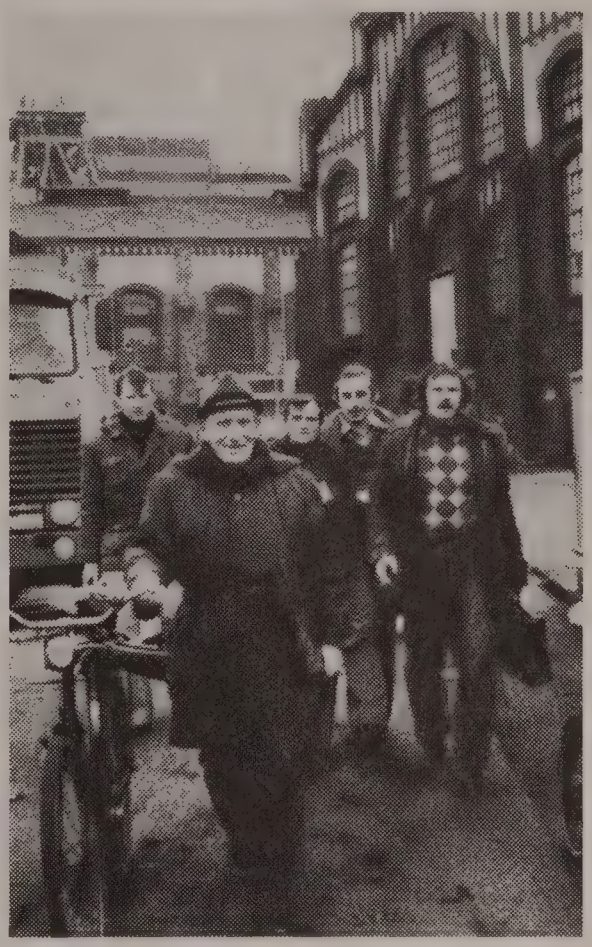
The March 6 Parliamentary elections, and debate over NATO's plans to install cruise and Pershing II missiles in Europe, have dominated the news in West Germany this year. But during the last week of January a national commemoration took precedence. On January 30, West Germany marked the 50th anniversary of Adolf Hitler's rise to power.

Thousands of Germans attended meetings and demonstrations across the country. In Berlin many visited a three-floor exhibit of the horrors of fascism. Some of the exhibit's most haunting images from the 1930s could apply equally to today's grim economic reality—charts of escalating unemployment, photographs of listless men and women begging for work, statistics of the decline of trade union membership. Hitler's brutal assault on his most organized opposition—the German trade union movement—was documented.

Thus it seemed particularly fitting that a group of European trade unionists chose this city and this weekend to hold a meeting on trade union participation in the European peace movement. Convened by the Trade Union Committee of European Nuclear Disarmament (END) this group of 20 participants included members of Britain's largest union, the Transport and General Workers Union (TGWU), the British Society of Civil and Public Servants, the Italian Metal Workers Union and Germany's largest union, *IG Metall*, as well as a representative of the Swedish Labor Party's Peace Forum.

The meeting—a preparatory session to plan for a Western European trade union conference early next year on conversion from a military to peacetime economy—highlighted the differences between the American and the European peace movements. While the majority of American trade unions have remained aligned with the AFL-CIO's Cold War policies, many major European unions are actively participating in antinuclear activities that range from sponsoring large demonstrations to presenting plans for conversion. This has meant that while the American peace movement has remained a largely middle-class effort, the European movement has achieved a fairly broad-base.

British trade unions have been working actively in the conversion field since the mid-1970s when Lucas Aerospace, a major defense firm, tried to lay off thousands of workers. To resist the layoffs, a shop steward committee created what has since become known as the Lucas Plan—a conversion program that utilized the company's technology and its workers' special skills to produce a variety of socially useful products.



Workers in W. Germany's Ruhr District

Work on conversion has since spread in Britain. The TGWU now tries to set up factory conversion committees that encourage their defense-worker membership to come up with their own plans for alternative production. The national office coordinates conversion activity, provides educational materials and helps plan strategy around the tricky problem of relations with multinational companies.

The British Society of Civil and Public Servants, a union with many members involved in the defense industry, is especially interested in supporting alternative production in factories in isolated rural areas where there is little economic diversity. "Planning for conversion in these locations is simply not sufficient," says Gerry Gillman, a general secretary for the union. Such communities, he points out, will require *new* industries, which means the labor movement must become involved in long-term economic planning.

In Italy the metal workers union is also concentrating on setting up workers' committees in defense factories. They have lobbied for legislation to restrict the export of military products and military technology, established a new research institute called *Archivio Disarmo*, and are planning a major conference on conversion this September.

The countries least active in the disarmament and conversion movement are France and West Germany. In West Germany, strengthening ties with labor unions has become a major goal of peace organizations, but the control of much of the labor movement by the Helmut Schmidt faction of the Social Democratic Party has meant that trade union officials have been hesitant to challenge either the Euromissiles or the defense industry. (Schmidt was the main European initiator of the current NATO missile deployment policy.) Nevertheless, interest in conversion has been growing slowly in West Germany; nine conversion groups within *IG Metall* have been formed in defense plants.

In fighting for conversion the most pressing problems European trade unions face—like their American counterparts—is the rapidly deteriorating economy. Although their members do not necessarily support military solutions to economic problems, they have been persuaded that defense work equals jobs. This is why European trade unionists active in the disarmament campaign put such an emphasis on conversion.

"We must convince our members who are in the arms industry that there are real and concrete alternatives to military production," says Ron Todd of the TGWU. Or as Ulrich Briefs, a researcher for the economic institute of the German Labor Confederation, argues: "Our main problem here is a high degree of resignation. There seem to be so many overwhelming factors affecting people's lives. We must show the public that there are realistic possibilities for conversion and that there is no other way to go."

—Suzanne Gordon

Suzanne Gordon is Associate Editor of Working Papers *magazine.*

PHOTO FROM GERMAN INFORMATION CENTER

Round-Up

East Germany: Bishops Condemn Rising Militarism

■In a recent pastoral letter, the leaders of East Germany's Catholic Church spoke out against the arms race and their country's growing militancy. Representing 1.2 million Catholics in a nation of 17 million, the bishops specifically criticize increases in military training and education in the schools. Although the 1200-word letter has not been published in East Germany, it was read to congregations in every Catholic Church throughout the country and widely circulated in the West German press.

The independent peace movement in East Germany has been led so far by clergy from every level of the Lutheran Church; it is the dominant faith and may be said to command more allegiance than the government itself. The Catholic bishops' letter adds a minority—and therefore braver—voice of protest. Its admonition against the arms race as an "intolerable offense," is directed at the Eastern Bloc as well as the West—a trend that is beginning to affect even the East German government's pronouncements on peace.

—Frank Lipsius

West Pacific: Palau Still Nuclear Free

■ The people of Palau have rejected a proposition that would allow the United States to place nuclear, chemical, and biological weapons on the island. In doing so, they voted for the third time in five years to protect the Palauan constitution's ban on such weapons, despite well-funded U.S. State Department "educational" campaigns against it.

In the February 10 vote, the proposition, which had to win by a 3-to-1 margin to overturn the constitutional ban, was rejected 2354 to 2176, with all but the absentee ballots counted. It shared the ballot with a referendum on a Compact of Free Association with the United States, which has held Palau under a United Nations trusteeship since the end of World War II. Although the Compact, which would establish a kind of commonwealth status for Palau, was approved by the plebiscite, it is not known whether it will go into effect without approval of a weapons proposition.

U.N. trusteeship is supposed to lead toward independence, but several groups—including the San Francisco-based Nuclear Free Pacific Network and the Pacific Concerns Resource Center in Honolulu—argue that the Compact would strengthen U.S. control over Palau's economic, political, and military affairs. It allows, for example, up to one-third of Palau's land to be used for weapons storage, military bases and jungle warfare training in return for large amounts of financial aid. Former Trident missile designer Robert Aldridge has repeatedly asserted that the Pentagon views Palau as an ideal location for nuclear submarine bases.

CANADA

Police Raid Peace Offices

Recent police sweeps in the Toronto area have outraged and bewildered peace activists who must now contend with rumors linking them with the Soviet Union and Direct Action, the group that claimed responsibility for last year's bombing of a plant that produces guidance systems for U.S. cruise missiles.

Between December 7 and January 5, the homes of four activists and the offices of the Cruise Missile Conversion Project, World Emergency Peterborough, and the Alliance for Nonviolent Action were raided by police who claimed they were looking for information that would help them track down Direct Action. Although last fall the police did not think there was a link between the Litton Systems plant bombing and local disarmament groups, a reversal seems to have been sparked by Crown prosecutor Norman Matusiak's allegation that Ivan LeCouvie, the first of six peace activists to be interrogated, was working for the Soviet Union. Matusiak's sole piece of evidence was a calendar of LeCouvie's that indicated that he stopped in Moscow during a trip to Czechoslovakia. Even more extraordinary is that the police have publicly justified their actions with a semantic contrivance—that "direct action" is a term used by peace groups to describe their protest activities at weapons production sites.

On January 20, two weeks after the police raids ceased, five suspected members of Direct Action were apprehended in British Columbia. But the charges have so far not included the Litton bombing. Although the materials the police confiscated from the peace activists probably were useless to the Direct Action investigation, Dan Leckie, an assistant to Member of Parliament Dan Heep, states that the raids "were successful at creating an air of public suspicion, which is so unfair when one considers the deeply nonviolent nature of the peace groups here."

Police Sergeant Dave Luke, who is heading the investigation, declined comment on the peace community's links, if any, with Direct Action, but he said that a Litton bombing charge is being prepared. The five charges lodged so far against the alleged Direct Action members include conspiracy to sabotage the "Terry Fox," a nuclear cutter under construction in Vancouver, and the Cold Lake military base in Alberta, where cruise missiles are due to be tested after the expected signing of an agreement between the United States and Canada. The signing has been repeatedly postponed because of increasing public opposition, as indicated by demonstrations and the passage of disarmament referenda by an overall three-to-one margin throughout Canada late last year.

—Walter Lew

Belgium/Italy: Women Protest NATO Missiles

■ NATO headquarters in Brussels and the planned cruise missile deployment site in Comiso, Sicily, will be the targets of women's demonstrations on March 8, International Women's Day. The Brussels rally, sponsored by Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, will draw together women from all over Western Europe and the United States, including contingents from the Greenham Common peace camp in England, the National Council of Belgian Women, the French Women's Union, and 12 busloads from both Norway and Sweden. They will demand the cancellation of NATO's plans to deploy intermediate-range nuclear missiles. A highlight of the rally will be the bursting of a huge papier-maché bomb containing one million postcards signed by women during WILPF's Stop the Arms Race campaign.

Meanwhile, a delegation from the United States headed by Frances "Sissy" Farenthold, will be arriving in Italy to discuss the missile deployment plans with Sicilian women's groups and concerned women Members of Parliament. The delegation also includes former Congresswoman Bella Abzug, the Reverend Elizabeth Scott of the National Council of Churches, and Anne Kahn of the Committee for National Security. They will participate in protest actions in Comiso. □

LINKING THE MOVEMENTS

Ties That Bind Arms & Energy

The movements against nuclear power and nuclear war have separate origins. But nuclear power and nuclear weapons are inextricably linked—historically, physically, economically, and politically.

In the 1970s citizens in this country, Europe and parts of the Pacific spoke out against power plants, uranium mining, radioactive waste dumps, and transport of nuclear materials. Nuclear power plants produce plutonium, the raw material of nuclear weapons, but the government and the nuclear industry had long assured the public that there was no connection between this commercial product and weapons-grade plutonium. As a result, the power-weapons link was slow to become a major issue.

For many who opposed nuclear power plants, nuclear weaponry remained a large, shadowy issue, something we had to live with, pretending it wasn't there: a potential and costly threat, but one that would never materialize. In the meantime the local power plant posed a real, daily danger.

Times have changed. We have seen the Salt II treaty get pushed to the side, the prospective basing of cruise and Pershing missiles in Europe, an arms race escalating in rhetoric and cost, and leaked documents showing that the Reagan Administration thinks it could win a nuclear war.

In light of the current nuclear weapons buildup, the setbacks of the nuclear power industry and other pressing national issues (such as unemployment and the economy), the antinuclear power movement has lost some public attention. The accident at Three Mile Island on March 28, 1979, brought home the danger of atomic power, and public support for the nuclear industry has waned. The costs of nuclear plants have skyrocketed. No new orders (that are still active) have been placed since 1974. Since then, there have been 83 cancellations and more will follow.

But the nuclear power industry must remain a target not only of those primarily concerned about reactor safety, but of everyone concerned about the spread of nuclear weapons.

There is no better time than the approaching fourth anniversary of the Three Mile Island accident to look at nuclear issues in this unified way.

IN THE BEGINNING

After the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the vision of transforming the atom's destructive power into a power source became an article of faith. As David Lilienthal, first chairman of the Atomic Energy Commision, has recalled: "We were grimly determined to prove that this discovery was not just a weapon. This led perhaps to wishful thinking, a wishful evaluation of the 'sunny side' of the Atom."

The AEC was charged with continuing weapons construction as well as developing a commercial nuclear program.

The promise of nuclear power was sold so effectively that even people in the "Ban the Bomb" movement took up the slogan "Atoms for Peace, not for War."

The post-war Atomic Energy Commission, along with its allies on the congressional Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, defined, guided and promoted nuclear power and weapons development until 1975. Its administrative descendant, the Department of Energy, continues to have jurisdiction over both power and weapons. At present, more than one-half of the DOE's budget goes to "defense activities," including the research, development and production of nuclear weapons, and up to 25 percent goes to nuclear power.

THE URANIUM CHAIN

Nuclear technology, for both weapons and power plants, follows the uranium "fuel chain," sometimes referred to as the "fuel cycle."

But the term "cycle" misleadingly implies a biological continuity, whereas the uranium fuel chain has a one-way flow: It starts with a radioactive material naturally protected underground, and ends up with a much greater volume of highly toxic wastes that must be isolated from the environment for thousands of years.

Spent reactor fuel must be stored and guarded virtually forever (there is no known safe "disposal"). But this waste can also be "reprocessed" to extract the plutonium for use as fuel in the so-called "breeder" reactor that produces nuclear weapons fuel.

Along the fuel chain there are other shared dangers between weapons production and the nuclear power industry including transportation of radioactive materials on the public highways, irradiation of the workforce, and possible ill-effects on the communities surrounding nuclear facilities.

PROLIFERATION

Because the basic technology of nuclear power and weapons is the same, the existence of a power program helps overcome the serious technical, economic and political barriers faced by any country that wants to build atomic weapons.

Nuclear power promotes both "horizontal" proliferation (the spread of nuclear weapons to additional countries) and "vertical" proliferation (the increase in the number of nuclear warheads of a country).

The average commercial reactor sold to the nuclear power industry today produces about 500 pounds of plutonium a year, theoretically enough for one bomb a week. Since this plutonium is locked in fuel rods, skilled personnel and the proper facilities are needed to convert it for use in weapons.

A nuclear power program brings together people with all the skills needed for a weapons program, and at the same time provides the necessary fissionable material.

Through the "Atoms for Peace" program, initiated by President Eisenhower in 1953, the United States has trained thousands of scientists from more than 80 countries. Thus, when India exploded a nuclear weapon in 1974, it did so with the help of more than a thousand Indian technicians trained in the United States at taxpayer expense to work on "peaceful" nuclear fission.

The U.S. taxpayer has also trained hundreds of technicians from Taiwan, South Korea, and Argentina (a country known to be working toward a nuclear bomb, and which has refused to sign the Non-Proliferation Treaty). And now energy analysts Amory and Hunter Lovins report that "disproportionate numbers of Libyan and Palestinian students are showing disproportionate interest in U.S. nuclear curricula."

"Peaceful" nuclear technology also makes fissionable material available. Although the reactor vendors in the United States and other western nations have long presented nuclear power to the developing world as the modern alternative to imported oil and coal, these countries are well aware that it is a backdoor to the

elite Nuclear Club of the six nations that have already tested atomic weapons.

In the United States, Westinghouse has sold reactors to Brazil, South Korea, Taiwan, Yugoslavia and the Philippines, and General Electric to India, Taiwan and Mexico. G.E. of Canada has sold a reactor to Pakistan. Framatome, the French company created by Westinghouse, has sold reactors to Iran and South Africa. And the West German company, Kraftwerk Union (created by G.E.), has sold reactors to Iran, Argentina and Brazil.

Sales like these have made raw material for nuclear weapons accessible to a long list of countries once compared to "a Who's Who from Amnesty International."

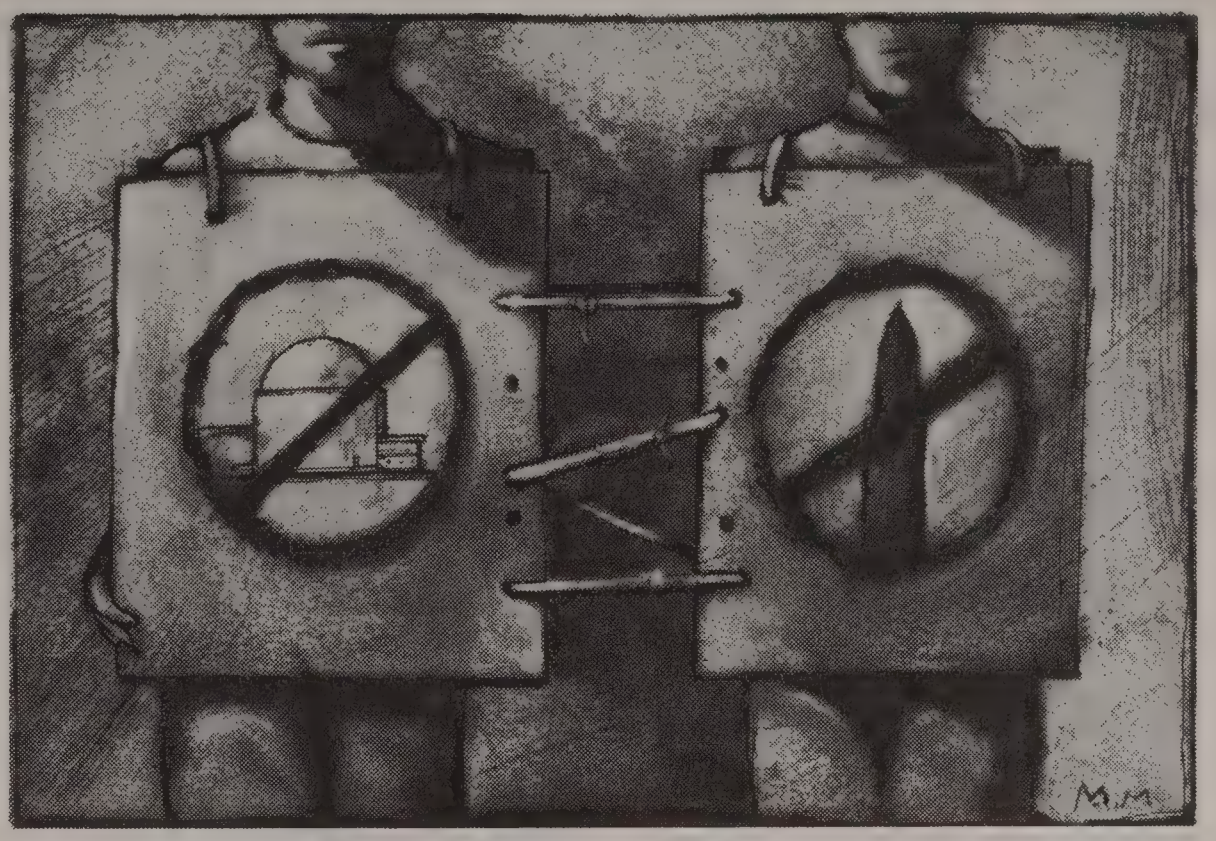
The final requirement for bomb production is the fissionable material: plutonium or highly-enriched uranium. Two stages of the nuclear power fuel chain provide those materials. Enrichment facilities can make highly-enriched uranium from unfissioned reactor fuel. Reprocessing facilities can separate plutonium from spent reactor fuel.

Currently, South Africa, Israel, West Germany and India, among others, have reprocessing facilities and enough separable plutonium for at least 30 to 60 bombs. And Brazil, South Korea, Pakistan, Taiwan, Argentina and Japan, among others, have the plutonium and the reprocessing facilities to make between three and six bombs.

In the absence of a nuclear power program, such possession would clearly indicate an effort to build nuclear weapons. But a nuclear power program offers the essential political expedient of ambiguity.

Even signing the Non-Proliferation Treaty does not prevent a country from getting very close to building weapons, because it does not prohibit separating plutonium or enriching uranium, or stockpiling weapons-grade nuclear materials. This substantially shortens the time necessary to build a bomb, once a country decides to do so, a problem that has been referred to as "latent proliferation."

Nuclear power also lowers the economic costs of weapons production, since some of the expense of a nuclear power program can be recouped by the sale of electricity. The cost of weapons production from such a program is much less than the cost of building an equivalent weapons program from scratch. It is also less conspicuous.



On the fourth anniversary of the Three Mile Accident, hundreds of energy and nuclear experts, activists, students and concerned citizens will meet in Washington, D.C. at the Critical Mass '83 Conference, March 25-27, to discuss the connections between nuclear power and weapons, between the military budget and cutbacks in solar and conservation programs, and the implications of nuclear power for labor and the economy. The registration fee is $35 ($45 after March 15). For more information, write Critical Mass '83, 215 Pennsylvania Ave. S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003, or call (202) 546-4790.

PLUTONIUM POLITICS

Because of the Reagan Administration's desire to rapidly increase weapons production, in September 1981 it proposed using plutonium from domestic reactor fuel to make bombs. Outraged, Congress adopted a prohibition on such use. Reagan continues to support reprocessing domestic and foreign spent fuel as a source of plutonium to fuel the Clinch River Breeder Reactor in Tennessee. But private industry is not interested in finishing the almost completed Barnwell reprocessing plant in South Carolina, and Congress came within one vote last December of defunding Clinch River.

Undaunted, Reagan is backing the further spread of nuclear technology abroad. He has encouraged international reactor sales, reversed the Ford/Carter ban on reprocessing, and is promoting reprocessing by non-weapons countries, a further step towards the "plutonium economy."

What can be done in the face of such a relentless spreading of nuclear technology? Congress could help by acting to ban the breeder reactor and the reprocessing of any reactor fuel in this country, and to prohibit the reprocessing abroad of U.S.-supplied fuel. It could also move forcefully to develop and promote the use of non-nuclear power sources.

In forming the visions and tactics to build a non-nuclear future, it is important that people opposing nuclear weapons and nuclear power communicate, share strategies and work together.

A few years ago many safe-energy activists felt that their cause would lose its focus if it was connected too closely to the nuclear weapons issue. Last June 12, however, many of these same people helped organize the giant disarmament rally. But many in the peace movement still ignore the commercial side of the atom.

This is a great loss, because the public has by now learned a lot about fuel chain problems and the dangers of radiation. When we look at a map of nuclear-related activities in the United States—from power plants to Minuteman sites—no region is untouched.

Across the country a network of individuals and groups working on both of these nuclear issues does exist. We will finally phase out nuclear power and weapons when we connect these issues, not just to each other but also to people's daily lives. To reverse the military and commercial programs we will have to understand the economic effects of phasing out nuclear plants and weapons facilities and demand conversion, job creation and retraining. We will have to look at what else the American public can get for its money.

Pulling down the curtain on the Atomic Age is the challenge of this era. It isn't easy, but our future depends on it.

—Anna Gyorgy and John Clewett

Anna Gyorgy, author of NO NUKES: Everyone's Guide to Nuclear Power, *is Director of Critical Mass. John Clewett is an attorney on the staff of Public Citizen's Critical Mass Energy Project.*

ILLUSTRATION BY MATT MAHURIN

BY FRED KAPLAN

The New Nuclear Budget . . .

The new Reagan defense budget and accompanying statements by Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger mark a new low in deceit from an Administration already distinguished by its indifference to the truth.

All through their first two years in office, Reagan and Weinberger have decried the grave "shortfalls" in conventional defenses left behind by the Carter Administration. In his budget statement this year, Weinberger emphasizes the remedial attention he is giving this deficiency and headlines a "lessened dependency on nuclear weapons."

Yet for all that, spending on nuclear weapons is slated to skyrocket in the fiscal 1984 defense budget—growing by 30 percent in real terms (beyond inflation). This compares with four percent real growth for "general purpose," or conventional, forces. Spending on nuclear forces has more than doubled since 1979.

Of course, much more will be spent on general purpose forces than on nuclear forces—$109.7 billion versus $28.1 billion, out of a $274 billion budget. Hundreds of tanks, planes and ships will always cost more than dozens of ICBMs, subs and bombers. In both real dollars and percentage points, however, nuclear weaponry is the fastest-growing item in the defense budget.

The reason for this massive growth is that major strategic programs are approaching their peaks. Reagan and Weinberger want:

- $6.6 billion for the MX ($2.9 billion of which will buy 27 of the missiles)
- $6.9 billion for the B-1 ($6.2 billion for buying 10 bombers)
- $2.5 billion for the 11th authorized Trident submarine
- $1.5 billion for the Trident II, or D-5, submarine-launched missile (a four-fold increase over funds for last year)
- $709 million for research and development of the ABM (antiballistic missile).

In fiscal year 1985, these numbers climb higher: $7.5 billion for the MX (enough to buy 37 missiles), $8.5 billion for the B-1 (to purchase 34 bombers), $2.3 billion for the D-5, $1.6 billion for ABM. This says nothing of the billions more for new command-control systems to help fight the infamous "protracted" nuclear war.

Examination of official budget documents seems to reveal one sharp reduction in the strategic program. No more air-launched cruise missiles (ALCMs) appear to be scheduled for production. But this first impression is an illusion. What goes unsaid is that the ALCM is to be replaced by a new version of the missile, loaded with Stealth technology. This is a super-secret project; any further money spent on ALCMs—one of the Air Force's top-priority projects—will be classified from now on.

It is too early to predict what Congress will do with this grand package, but it is very clear—from the initial hearings of the Armed Services, Appropriations and Budget committees and from talks with congressmen and their staffs—that they consider the overall defense budget far too large and that the MX missile in particular is the most popular candidate for selection as sacrificial lamb.

Rising to the challenge, Cap Weinberger has mustered a set of charts and statistics designed to persuade the gentlest of doves that we must not halt for an instant in our relentless buildup of all three "legs" of the strategic triad. For example, Weinberger claims in his "posture statement" that the United States has been unilaterally slashing its nuclear arsenal for years. "The number in our [nuclear] stockpile was one-third higher in 1967 than in 1980," he writes, "and the total number of megatons . . . was four times as high in 1960 than in 1980."

Weinberger has cited these figures to several congressional committees and we are likely to see them trotted out on numerous occasions in the future. Their fallacies should thus be exposed early on in the game.

The numbers are factually correct but misleading. Included in that 1967 "stockpile" were thousands of weapons not loaded onto bombers or missiles; and many of the weapons that *were* deployed could not have reached Soviet territory. If you look at strategic nuclear warheads and bombs, the number from 1967 to 1980 in fact rose dramatically—from 2255 to roughly 9200.

The megatonnage today is lower than two decades ago, but only because in 1960 the United States was scarcely able to manufacture H-bombs smaller than a couple of megatons. The bulk of the force consisted of 24-megaton bombs loaded onto B-47 bombers. You need only a few dozen *kilotons* to destroy most strategic targets; 24 megatons is more than enough to obliterate entire cities. In short, most of the 1960 megatonnage was superfluous.

Dishonesty comes in subtler shades as well. Obviously seeking to mollify critics disturbed by last year's sanguine statements about limited nuclear warfare, Weinberger writes this year: "We believe that neither side could win [a nuclear] war." However, he also writes: "Should deterrence fail, our strategy is to restore peace on favorable terms" and "to deny the enemy his political and military goals." Obfuscation has become rampant in the Pentagon of late, but this sounds a lot like "We win, they lose."

Meanwhile, Weinberger is trying to spread hysteria around Congress. He told Senator Edward Kennedy in Armed Services Committee hearings, "I don't believe we would have the sufficient degree of retaliatory power" today to deter "a nuclear surprise attack . . . by the Soviet Union"—an assessment utterly at odds with that of top military leaders. He is fighting against any cuts in the defense budget, telling the Senate Budget Committee that "we have reached the bone," even though everyone knows that Congress will force cuts of $15 billion or more.

As usual, resistance seems to be the emblem of the Reagan-Weinberger team—resisting public opinion, resisting honest numbers, resisting reality. □

Fred Kaplan, a former legislative assistant in the House of Representatives, is the author of the forthcoming book The Wizards of Armageddon.

ILLUSTRATIONS BY D. E. ABRAHAM

BY BETSY TAYLOR

. . . And How To Attack It

For the first time in recent memory the American people have an opportunity to significantly reduce the military budget. Those committed to a just and non-nuclear society can no longer merely direct rhetoric at unbridled military spending. Never has the opportunity and need for budget realignment been greater. Peace activists must unite now to avert the catastrophic consequences of this year's military budget.

During the next few months Congress will determine how many billions of dollars to cut from President Reagan's $274 billion fiscal year (FY) 1984 defense budget. "Peace groups must target the military budget this year and register an impact *early* in the decision-making process," asserts Mike Mawby, lobbyist for SANE. "Money spent in FY '84 locks us into weapons systems that will demand far more money in subsequent 'out-years.' "

One reason this year is so crucial is that drastic changes in the budget are unlikely in an election year. Both political parties will probably keep budget maneuverings at a minimum next year. "If we don't get significant cuts in defense this year," notes Wendell Belew, chief counsel for the House Budget Committee, "we won't get them until FY '86."

Arms control lobbyists and congressional budget staffers agree that peace groups have never had much impact on defense spending. Two notable exceptions include last year's elimination of $54 million for production of chemical weapons and the denial of $966 million for production of the MX. But these reductions are dwarfed by the $200-billion-plus defense budget.

"The peace movement has never been seriously involved with the budget process," says Wendell Belew. "Rivalry on the Hill over what to do with defense dollars has always been dominated by competition among defense contractors such as Boeing, Rockwell and United Technologies—not by jockeying between these potent forces and the peace groups."

But this year new opportunities have emerged to forge broad-based coalitions to reduce defense spending. Groups such as the Children's Defense Fund, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, National Education Association and others are already gearing up

to challenge the defense budget. These groups have weathered severe cuts in programs for the poor, elderly, children, and unemployed. Unable to withstand any further loss of funds, they are moving beyond rhetorical criticism of defense spending and are lobbying for cuts.

Some segments of the disarmament community, however, feel that the debate over the budget should not be a top priority. Roger Molander, director of Ground Zero, maintains that there are many obstacles to effectively waging an attack on defense spending. "There are two ways you can take on the defense budget," Molander notes. "You can argue that the United States can't afford to spend money on defense vis á vis spending needs and the tax impact. But if you take this approach you'll be criticized for posturing as an expert on macroeconomics. The other way is to criticize program by program, but let's face it, most of the high-cost military programs are non-nuclear, so how will you mobilize a public that's antinuclear but not critical of conventional programs?"

While conceding the existence of obstacles, it is nevertheless time to challenge the economists, Pentagon top brass and corporate defense experts who have maintained absolute control of the defense budget. As John Isaacs, lobbyist with Council for a Livable World, observes, "We don't have any choice. We must get involved and attract experts to our cause, just as we have done with the Freeze and MX debates." If we choose not to influence the legislative process, Isaacs questions whether the movement will ever make an impact.

Michael Klare of the Institute for Policy Studies agrees with some of Molander's observations but not his conclusions. "The peace movement's exclusive focus on nuclear weapons," Klare says, "makes it vulnerable if it gets into the budget debate. We must begin to tackle conventional weapons head-on."

But for most peace activists the issue is not whether to attack defense spending but *how*. In assessing when and where to exert leverage in the political arena, local and national activists must first learn how the complex federal budget works.

After the budget is released, Congress reviews the President's overall budget proposal—known as the first concurrent resolution on the budget. Controlled by the budget committees in each house, this resolution sets a ceiling on all defense spending. "This is the stage in the annual budget process where big cuts in the defense budget are possible," says Steve Daggett, military expert with the Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy. "Citizens should write and visit their representatives and senators during March, demanding deep cuts." The congressional leadership hopes to complete decisions on the budget resolution by Easter, although the debate could continue through May. Many groups and individuals are now calling on the budget committees to freeze military spending.

Once a general defense spending limit has been set, both House and Senate proceed with Defense Authorization and Appropriation bills. This is the time to target specific military projects and weapons systems. Many peace activists agree on a list of systems that should be scrapped during this process, including the MX, the Pershing II, the cruise missile, the B-1 bomber, two nuclear aircraft carriers, the F-18 fighter bomber and other unnecessary, wasteful programs.

Given its limited resources, the movement must selectively decide when and where to apply pressure and quickly align itself with natural allies on the local and national level. Perhaps most important, it must adopt defensible legislative positions that are politically credible, easy to understand and worth working for at both the local and national levels. □

Betsy Taylor, former executive director of the Nuclear Information and Resource Service, has just completed a research project on disarmament strategies for the Circle Fund.

DECODING THE ARMS RACE

On Calling A Bomb A Bomb

The arms race has a deep, almost metaphysical hold on our society. We are witnessing strong cultural and ideological currents, a religion of devotion to and dependence upon nuclear weapons that Robert Jay Lifton first called "nuclearism." We will need to understand and challenge its deep structure and symbols, its special language and mythic code if the arms race is to be halted.

Part of the real power of any society is in the act of defining reality through symbols and language. In earlier times this was carried out by seers, shamans, and priests. In the modern state, such naming is controlled by state classification of information, public relations and propaganda, and technocratic jargon that obscures the subject so as to limit discussion and debate.

The nuclear arms race has been shrouded in mystery and myth, secrecy and sacred worship. The masses are forbidden to speak of some of its most sacred vessels and objects; its most holy places can be entered only by the nuclear high priests. That is why the trial in 1981 of the Plowshares Eight, religious activists including Daniel Berrigan, was something of a heresy trial. The centerpiece of the trial—an MK12A "reentry vehicle" that the Eight, after entering the General Electric Plant in King of Prussia, Pennsylvania, hammered and poured blood upon—became the centerpiece of a struggle to name and define reality.

During the trial, the dark, conical, four and one-half foot MK12A, capable of carrying 10 nuclear warheads, each with the power of 17 Hiroshima bombs, was brought to the courtroom. Representatives from General Electric refused to acknowledge the name or purpose of the object. That such little cones sitting atop a missile could rain down H-bombs could not be mentioned. The company spokesperson simply referred to the cone as "the product." (The warheads themselves are known in the military-industrial vernacular as "the physics package.")

Once coded as "the product," the H-bomb carriers gain all the legitimacy and status that a society that venerates property can bestow. This transformation also sanctions the evil of those with power over nuclear weapons. Consider, for instance, the proprietary, obscenely ironic words stencilled on the metallic shipping drums in which the MK12As are shipped to the Pantex plant in Amarillo, Texas: "Handle With Care. Do Not Destroy."

We ignore the language of the nuclear arms race at our peril. At the simplest level many of the places and objects are without names. They are secret. That is why the Brandywine Peace Community has carted around the country, for public viewing, an actual, unarmed MK12A and its casing. (They are a group loosely linked with the Berrigans and other religious activists, such as the Trident Nein, who were recently convicted for spraying "U.S.S. Auschwitz" on a new Trident submarine at the pleasantly-named Electric Boat Company in Groton, Connecticut.)

We ignore the language of the nuclear arms race at our peril.

Gary Dobson of the Mount Diablo Peace Center in California has chased semi-trailer trucks down Interstate 5 leading from the Concord Naval Weapons near San Francisco in an attempt to confirm what he had heard from workers at the base and deduced from circumstantial evidence—that nuclear weapons are kept at the weapons station and transported dangerously throughout the Bay area. Dobson was stopped by state troopers and told that it was illegal to even photograph the outside of the trucks. The work of activists like Dobson did lead to a television documentary by Steve Talbot of KQED-TV called *Broken Arrow*. It won a Peabody Award—but still no names, no official confirmation of the nuclear weapons at the base.

I experienced something similar last summer after reporting on peace camps—permanent protest sites designed to mark and name the presence of nuclear weapons—outside U.S. nuclear bases in England. I officially entered one base—RAF Upper Heyford. From the peace camp outside the gate I had been watching F-111 fighter bombers armed with nuclear weapons flying overhead every few minutes. But once inside the base information office, Air Force Captain Paula Hoffman told me, as I expected, that it was official policy not to confirm or deny or even to discuss the possible presence of nuclear weapons. In the same way, U.S. airmen are forbidden to acknowledge, visit or talk to anyone at the nearby peace camp. For the Air Force, it does not exist.

Arrangements like this would be comic except such denial of speech and evasion of reality serves a serious purpose. Not surely to fool the Russians—their satellites can observe the reinforced nuclear bunkers and the double concertina wire fences which by military regulation must be lighted and under armed guard twenty-four hours a day if they contain nuclear weapons. Instead, the policies are designed to mold the minds of the public through the suppression and distortion of language. Even the title RAF Upper Heyford is a misleading fiction. The base is entirely American, with a separate American commander, and only nominally under British control.

But secrecy serves another purpose too: social isolation. When Robert Oppenheimer and Ernest Lawrence came to look over the site of the Los Alamos Boys School before it was expropriated by the government, they used the pseudonyms Mr. Smith and Mr. Jones. Oppenheimer was, of course, world famous and recognized by his omnipresent pork pie hat and gaunt, compelling features. Secrecy was the ostensible goal, but the important effect was the transformation of the identities of leading atomic scientists into amateur government agents. Those who worked on the Bomb were kept apart from the rest of society on a hilltop in New Mexico and not even allowed to tell relatives where they were. The isolation and sense of unreality that pervaded Los Alamos were described by a reporter for *The New Mexican:* "A whole social world existed in nowhere in which people married and babies were born nowhere. People died in a vacuum, autos and trucks crashed in a vacuum." This social vacuum has been essential to maintaining much of the arms race.

Isolation and secrecy, the reduction of experience to "facts," is also characteristic of executive decision making about

nuclear weapons. After the Soviet Union exploded an atomic bomb in August 1949, President Harry S. Truman secretly requested advice from the bureaucracy (the State and Defense Departments and the Atomic Energy Commission) about whether to proceed with a crash program to build the "super." David Lilienthal, then head of the AEC, in turn sought advice from a panel of distinguished scientists headed by Robert Oppenheimer. This General Advisory Committee recommended, also in secret, that the "super" not be built because it might stimulate a new round in the arms race, because we had sufficient A-Bombs for deterrence and because with its immense indiscriminate power, the "super" would certainly be immoral.

For these opinions, Oppenheimer had his security clearance removed in a secret hearing in 1954. This was, in effect, another heresy trial. He was silenced, forbidden the special language, stripped of his authority because he had uttered objectionable truths. *The Day After Trinity* and other documentaries have made filmgoers familiar with the moving close-up shot of a tearful Oppenheimer. Harry Truman was not so sentimental. When Oppenheimer told him in the Oval Office of his doubts and guilt about nuclear weapons, Truman said to his aides: "I never want to see that cry baby in here again."

As one of three people to meet directly with Truman on the final H-Bomb decision, David Lilienthal did mildly demur on the pragmatic grounds that the General Advisory Committee had laid out for him. But as for moral objections to the H-Bomb—which, Lilienthal told me before his death, he felt strongly—these were unutterable in the Oval Office. In that atmosphere, he said, "I would have been simply disregarded."

The other two participants in the H-Bomb decision, Dean Acheson and Defense Secretary Louis Johnson, sought bureaucratic advice, too. Again, there are revealing linguistic contrasts. The Joint Chiefs of Staff sent a short, crisp memo to Johnson in a simplistic question and comment format:

QUESTION: What effect would the possession of the super bomb have upon the defensive power of the United States?
COMMENT: They believe, that the truism, "the best defense is a good offense" is still valid. Such a weapon would improve our defense in its broadest sense, as a potential offensive weapon. . . . The Joint Chiefs respond they do not intend to destroy large cities per se; rather only to attack such targets as are necessary in war. . . .

Compare this with the memo written by George Kennan to Dean Acheson opposing the H-Bomb, but only declassified in 1979. It is a complex, graceful 79-page essay. Kennan is keenly aware of language and perceptions and writes, "I fear the atomic weapon with its vague and highly dangerous promise of 'decisive' results, of people signing on 'dotted lines,' of easy solutions to profound human problems will impede understanding of things that are important to a clear, clean policy."

As for the question whether the destructiveness of H-Bombs is only a matter of degree, Kennan quotes Shakespeare from *Troilus and Cressida:*

> *Take but degree away—untune that string*
> *And hark what discord follows: . . .*
> *Then everything includes in power—*
> *Power into will, will into appetite . . .*

(When I asked him why his advice was ignored by Acheson, Kennan told me, "I suppose he regarded me as idealistic and naive about the ways of power.")

Throughout government planning and crisis management, it is the terse, abstract memo, the confident option paper, the breezy assertive briefing that carries the day. Doubts, subtlety, nuance, empathy, and Shakespeare have no place.

When Jimmy Carter first heard of the plans for the new MX missile, he said, "This is the craziest idea I've ever heard." Within two years he was trying to sell the public on "racetracks" and "drag strips" to connect 4600 shelters that would destroy some of the most beautiful wilderness in the country. Now, Ronald Reagan wants to proceed with the most destructive weapon in human history and calls it the "peacekeeper."

It is the theory of nuclear deterrence that requires our Presidents to appear ready to use nuclear weapons; otherwise the warheads are of no value. At the same time, as democratic leaders, Presidents must assure the public that they want peace and prosperity. It is this deep conflict that makes our modern Presidents sound so hypocritical. Jimmy Carter enters office on the cresting wave of post-Vietnam, post-Watergate dovishness and democracy. The symbols and language are for domestic consumption: the populist stroll down the middle of Pennsylvania Avenue, the black choirs, the shouting in a high drawl, "We shall work toward our ultimate goal—zero nuclear weapons!" But then the pressures begin to build. Carter discovered that even mentioning in a speech that one Poseiden submarine was so potent it could destroy 160 cities caused tremendous flak inside the security bureaucracies. With Carter accused of being weak on defense, and with the Air Force "near mutiny," the go-ahead for the "crazy" MX, Carter's speechwriter Jim Fallows told me, was given to mollify the hawks and to save SALT II.

The contagious fear of appearing "soft" on nuclear defense reflects the inveterate sexism of the nuclear arms industry. A current popular chant among feminist disarmament activists, "take the toys away from the boys," is more accurate

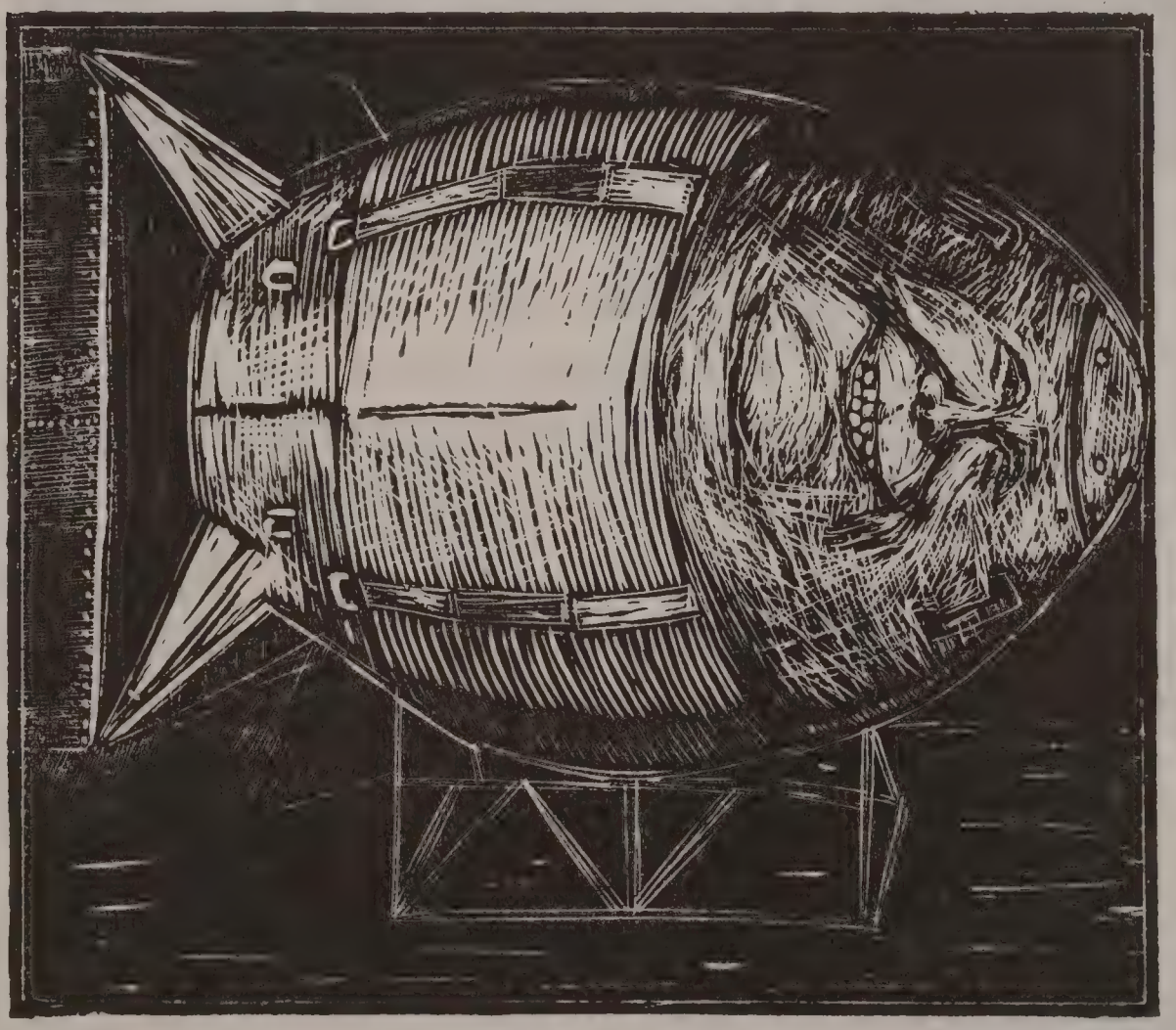


ILLUSTRATION BY FRANCES JETTER

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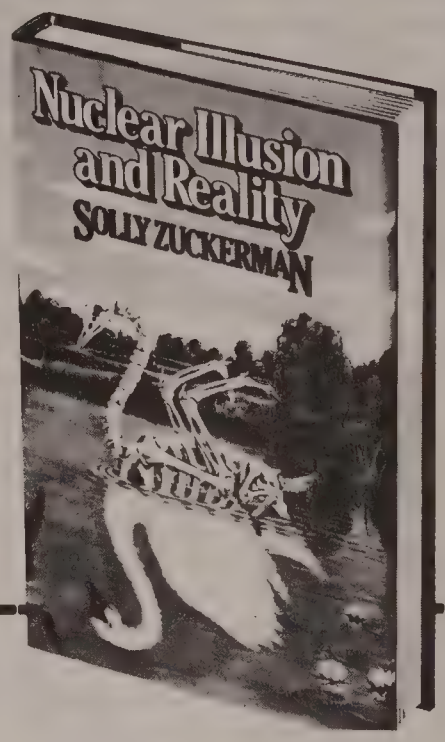

Nuclear Illusion and Reality, Solly Zuckerman

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than perhaps many of them suspect. When scientists were about to start up the first atomic chain reaction in the experimental reactor beneath Chicago's Stagg Field, they waited with axes at the ready to cut ropes that would release neutron-absorbing carbon rods into the pile in case of a critical reaction. But before they began, Leone Libby, the only woman scientist to work on the Chicago reactor, was asked to leave the room. Chivalry, no doubt. But the sort of Boy Scout atmosphere represented by those male scientists facing nuclear dangers with their stout axes drawn is repeated again and again in the history of developing nuclear weapons.

After the atomic "gadget" (as it was known) was successfully tested at Alamogordo, the next two bombs, those used on Japan, were named "Fat Man" and "Little Boy." When the H-Bomb was first tested in the Pacific in 1952, Edward Teller waited expectantly for the news in the basement laboratory at Berkeley where he watched a seismograph. When the data reached him, he sent a telegram to Los Alamos which, as Teller now puts it, "the women's liberation movement will never forgive." The full text was: "It's a boy!"

To penetrate the current maze of double-speak and linguistic and moral schizophrenia we need to decode and demystify nuclear language, to make tangible the awful realities behind the words and the silences. We need to make visible the invisible and penetrate the holy places. Then, our language will shift and words —The GE Reentry Division, The Electric Boat Company, Rocky Flats, Pantex, Hanford, Savannah River—will take on new meaning . In Allen Ginsberg's chanting, bardic "Plutonium Ode" such nuclear place names are shouted out, mesmerizing us in ironic Whitmanesque fashion, calling up no democratic vistas, but demonic visions, the holy places of Pluto, the God of Death. Ginsberg, like others, has sat in and been arrested at Rocky Flats where the atomic triggers for H-Bombs, we now know and can never forget, are manufactured. Here is work that strikes at the political, linguistic, cultural and mythic heart of the nuclear arms race. Once the forbidden is named, the veil lifted, we can no longer misperceive reality. We can become free citizens, not dumb, awestruck medieval subjects. **—Robert K. Musil**

Robert K. Musil is Education Director of the SANE Education Fund and co-producer and host of SANE's nationally-syndicated radio programs, Consider the Alternatives and Insights. *He is writing a book based on his radio documentary series,* Shadow of the Nuclear Age: American Culture and the Bomb.

•RESOURCES•

BOOKS

Thinking About National Security by Harold Brown (to be published by Westview Press/Hearst Books in April, $17.95). Brown, former director of the Lawrence Livermore Laboratory, secretary of the Air Force and a member of the U.S. SALT delegation, was Jimmy Carter's Secretary of Defense. Brown writes that his current views "do not differ greatly from those I held in office." This means that he strongly supports arms control but just as strongly backs development of the MX, Trident II, stealth bombers and cruise missiles.

Preparing for Nuclear War: The Psychological Effects ($7.50 plus $1 postage from Physicians for Social Responsibility/NYC, 225 Lafayette Street, New York, NY 10012.) A symposium on the psychological fallout from the arms race on our daily lives and those of our children. Contributors include psychiatrists Robert Jay Lifton and John Mack, political scientist Richard Barnet, and author Studs Terkel.

Sanity and Survival in the Nuclear Age by Jerome D. Frank (Random House paperback, $6.95). A psychiatrist who contributed to the PSR symposium discusses the psychological underpinnings of war and the arms race. He is particularly illuminating on the psychology of political leaders and bureaucracies, and on why some who instigated nuclear policies—the Rickovers, McNamaras, and Bundys—have denounced them since leaving office. Both PSR's main office (639 Massachusetts Avenue, Cambridge, MA 02139) and Patricia R. Sax (915 Ashbury Street, San Francisco, CA 94117) have compiled bibliographies on the psychological effects of living under the nuclear threat.

Debate on Disarmament edited by Michael Clarke and Marjorie Mowlam, Routledge & Kegan Paul ($7.95 paper). A collection of essays from the European peace movement. Each contributor focuses on a different aspect of disarmament: the Soviet threat, Europe's influence, religious and scientific issues. A BBC reporter discusses the role of the media in stimulating public debate and opinion.

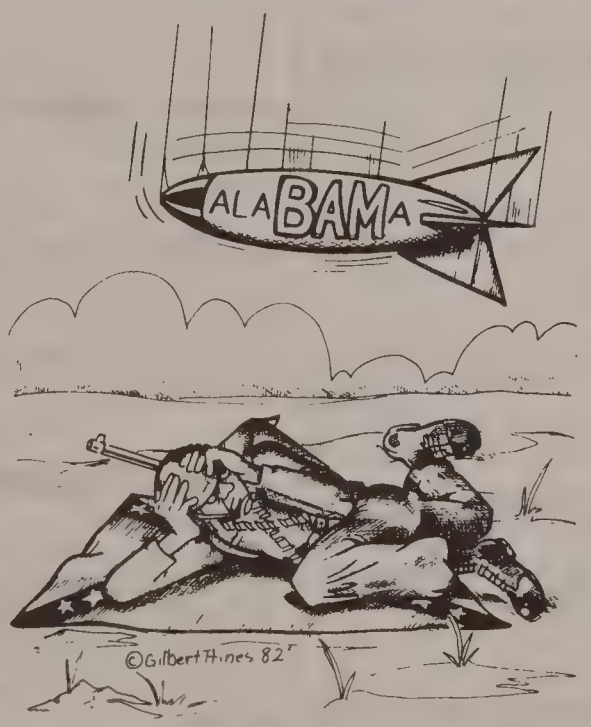
The Apocalyptic Premise edited by Ernest W. Lefever and E. Stephen Hunt ($9 paper, Ethics and Public Policy Center, 1666 Connecticut Avenue NW, Washington, DC 20009). A very different set of essays that demonstrates the other side's thinking. The collection is mainly critiques of arms control issues and the peace movement by conservative writers ranging from Herman Kahn and Irving Kristol to some who maintain that the disarmament activists are underwritten by the KGB.

You Can't Hug With Nuclear Arms! edited by Jennifer Warburg and Doug Lowe (Morgan & Morgan, $10.95). A moving collection of photos of the June 12 disarmament rally in New York.

REPORTS

No First Use, a report by the Union of Concerned Scientists (available for $3 from UCS at 26 Church Street, Cambridge, Massachusetts 02238). After months of study and consultation with experts, UCS concludes in this important 69-page report that a pledge by the United States not to initiate a nuclear attack would not only "markedly reduce the danger of nuclear war" but would "enhance the security of the U.S. and its allies." Some have argued against a no-first- use policy by claiming that it would require a massive buildup in conventional arms, but UCS found that present U.S. and allied forces, plus a very modest boost in NATO forces, would "pose a serious counter to conventional attack without resort to nuclear weapons."

Waging Peace, November/December 1982 issue of *Southern Exposure* ($4 an issue, $16 subscription from the Institute for Southern Studies, Box 531, Durham, NC 27702). A remarkable special issue of a magazine devoted to encouraging Southern activism. Includes state-by-state profiles of the Southern military establishment and who gets DOD contracts, as well as opportunities to organize for peace, jobs, and social justice.



From "Waging Peace"

CURRICULA

Planning and Curriculum Resource Guide by Educators for Social Responsibility, 220 pages with suggestions on how to organize discussions about nuclear war in schools and communities. It also has guidelines for appropriate ways to talk to children about the issues, curriculum ideas, and lessons for kindergarten through grade 12, as well as an adult study guide and annotated lists of resources for teachers and parents. Contact ESR, 639 Massachusetts Avenue, Cambridge, Massachusetts 02139 (617) 492-1764.

CHOICES: A Unit on Conflict and Nuclear War by the Union of Concerned Scientists, with assistance from the Massachusetts Teachers Association and the National Education Association. The 10 lessons in this instructional unit are designed to help students understand the power of nuclear weapons, the consequences of their use and the options available to resolve conflicts between nations by means other than nuclear war. Contact UCS, 1384 Massachusetts Avenue, Cambridge, Massachusetts 02238 (617) 547-5552.

FILMS

In Our Own Backyards, a film by Pamela Jones and Susanna Styron (29 minutes, $40 rental from Bullfrog Films, Olney, PA 19547). Uranium is mined mostly in the Southwest, but the radioactive element has been discovered recently in such heavily populated Northeastern states as Vermont, New Jersey, and Virginia. The film describes the mining process, which creates millions of tons of radioactive waste, and the effect on the environment, workers and nearby residents.

Booming produced and directed by Dennis Lanson (60 minutes, distributed by Lanson Productions, 333 Hope Street, #5, Greenfield, MA 01301). The other side of uranium mining: miners, ranchers, and housewives in a small Wyoming boom town talk about how they live and what they think about their work. A film that could have been as bleak as a north Wyoming winter is, instead, consistently stimulating.

America—From Hitler to MX a film created and directed by Joan Harvey (90 minutes, $115 rental plus $5 postage from Parallel Films, 314 West 91 Street, New York, NY 10024). An atomic smorgasbord that begins with American corporations' financial support of Hitler. Harvey tries to cover every aspect of the nuclear industry and the arms race—she even attempts to measure radioactivity outside a weapons plant, a uranium mine, and a radioactive waste reprocessing center. Although the director's organizing principle is frequently lost in a welter of facts and interviews, the film presents much useful and even startling information.

—Anne Marie Cunningham

ILLUSTRATION BY GILBERT HINES

•CALENDAR•

CONTINUING EVENTS

EUROMISSILES CONFERENCES

Mobilization for Survival is sponsoring conferences around the country to educate and train local organizers to work in their communities against the deployment of the cruise and Pershing II missiles. Projects include town meetings, pressuring legislative bodies, tours by MOB speakers, protests at factories, seminars, and workshops. So far, conferences have been scheduled in Amarillo, Atlanta, Austin, Baltimore, Boston, Charlotte, Chicago, Dallas, Indianapolis, New York, St. Louis, Salt Lake City, San Francisco, and Seattle. *Contact:* National MOB, 853 Broadway, Rm. 2109, New York, NY 10003.

MARCH 6

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

• Discussions and prayer support vigil for the freeze lobbying effort, "Becoming Pastor/Prophets for Pursuing Peace and Justice"; World Peacemakers, Church of the Saviour, 2025 Massachusetts Av, NW, DC 20036 (202) 265-7582.

NEW YORK

• **New York** Psycho-Political symposium, "The Nuclear Problem of Trust. Can We Trust the Russians? Can the Russians Trust Us? Can We Both Be Trusted By the World?", with arms negotiators, Soviet experts, psychoanalysts and psychotherapists; Roosevelt Hotel. *Contact:* Harvey Kaplan, Union of Concerned Psychoanalysts and Psychotherapists, 130 W 57 St, New York, NY 10019.

OREGON

• **Eugene** Disarmament festival to celebrate International Women's Day; Lane County Fairgrounds. *Contact:* Citizen Action for Lasting Security, P.O. 12763, Salem, OR 97309 (503) 371-8002.

MARCH 7

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

• On March 7 and 8, freeze supporters from around the nation will gather for seminars, caucuses, rallies, and lobbying of members of Congress to coincide with the House of Representatives' consideration of the new freeze resolution. For information, contact a local freeze campaign office or the Washington office of the Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign, 305 Massachusetts Ave NE, Washington, DC 20002 (202) 544-0880.

• "Alice in Blunderland," a musical allegory about the dangerous foibles of the nuclear age, will be presented for congressmen, peace group leaders, and the public in the Cannon Building on Capitol Hill. *Contact:* Legacy, Inc., Leslie Hudak, 1275 Goldfinch Trail, Stow, OH 44224 (216) 688-1253.

NATIONWIDE

• National Student Action Day, focusing on lobbying against increased military spending, with activities coordinated nationwide. *Contact:* Judy Schnidman, U.S. Student Association, 2000 P St NW, Suite 300, Washington, DC 20000 (202) 775-8943.

MARCH 8

HAWAII

• **Honolulu** Forum, "Religious Perspectives on Nuclear Arms," every Tuesday through March; Church of the Crossroads, 1212 University Av, (808) 949-2220.

NEW YORK

• **New York** Talk, "Long-term Carcinogenic Effects of Nuclear Weapons," by Arthur C. Upton, M.D. One of a series of lectures called "Preventing Nuclear War," that will also include: "Medical Problems of Nuclear War Survivors," by Herbert L. Abrams, M.D. (Mar 15); "Nuclear Weapons as Unusable Weapons," by Retired Adm. Noel Gayler (Mar 22); "Dynamics of the Arms race," by Kosta Tsipis, professor of physics (April 5). In Stern Auditorium, Annenberg Plaza, Mt. Sinai Medical Center.

OHIO

• **Statewide** "Ghosts of Hiroshima," a multi-media production based on the testimonies of survivors of the Hiroshima and Nagasaki bombings, will be performed in: **Ashland,** Ashland College (March 8); **Columbus,** Pontifical College (March 11); **Avon Lake,** Fellowship Hall, the United Church of Christ (March 20); **Akron** and **Cleveland,** Guns or Butter Conference (March 26). *Contact:* Deborah Lubar, Lantern Theater Co., 218 Forest St, Oberlin, OH 44074 (216) 774-5936.

MARCH 9

PENNSYLVANIA

• **Pittsburgh** Each month, vigils and leafletting will be carried out at the International Headquarters of Rockwell (every first and third Wednesday) and Westinghouse (every second and fourth Wednesday) to protest their role in producing first-strike weapons. Prayer sessions will be held before, and civil disobedience actions are planned. *Contact:* Thomas Merton Center, 1111 E. Carson St, Pittsburgh, PA 15203 (412) 381-1400.

WISCONSIN

• **Milwaukee** Talk, "Intervention and Escalation," by Michael Klare, Inst. for Policy Studies, on conventional military policy and nuclear arms; 4 p.m. at Brooks Memorial Union, Marquette Univ., and 7:30 in the Univ. of Wisconsin Student Union. *Contact:* Milwaukee MOB, 1016 N. 9 St, Milwaukee, WI 53233 (414) 272-0961.

MARCH 10

COLORADO

• **Boulder** Conference, "Annihilation: From Genocide to Omnicide," the Morris Colloquium, including discussions on nuclear arms, with Prof. Richard Falk, William Gass, and others, through Mar 12; University Memorial Center, Univ. of Colorado. *Contact:* Prof. Gary Stahl, Philosophy Dept., Campus Box 232, Univ. of Colorado, Boulder, CO 80309.

ILLINOIS

• **Urbana** Conference, "Medical Consequences of Nuclear War," with Herbert L. Abrams, M.D. of PSR, Larry Smarr of Illinois Alliance to Prevent Nuclear War, and others; Illini Union, Room 275, 1401 W. Green. *Contact:* Continuing Education for Health Professionals, Univ. of Illinois College of Medicine, 190 Medical Sciences Bldg, 506 S. Mathews, Urbana, IL 61801.

MARCH 11

NEBRASKA

• **Lincoln** Peacemaking workshop, with Helen Caldicott, M.D.; First United Methodist Church, 2723 N 50 St, through Mar 12. *Contact:* Nebraskans for Peace, 430 S. 16 St, Lincoln, NE 68308 (402) 475-4620.

MARCH 12

ARIZONA

• **Tucson** Film, "Gods of Metal." *Contact:* Arizonans for a Bilateral Nuclear Weapons Freeze, 1031 E 6 St, Tucson, AZ 85719 (602) 623-7951.

MARYLAND

• **Baltimore** Concert, "Peace Music," by Performing Artists for Nuclear Disarmament; Bread and Roses. *Contact:* Helen Hollingsworth, Office of the Chaplain, Johns Hopkins Univ., 34th at Charles St, Baltimore, MD 21218 (301) 338-8349.

MICHIGAN

• **Flint** Pax Christi Michigan conference on peace issues with Bishop Walter Sullivan and others. *Contact:* The Rev. Fred Thelan, 815 Sparrow, Lansing, MI 48910 (517) 482-1346.

NEW YORK

• **Rochester** Meeting of the Nuclear Weapons Facilities Networking Project; Friends Meeting House, 41 Westminster Rd. *Contact:* Rochester Peace and Justice Education Center, 713 Monroe Av, Rochester, NY (716) 244-7191.

MARCH 13

PENNSYLVANIA

• **Newtown** Pennsylvania premier of the film, "The King of Comedy," followed by a reception, proceeds to go toward establishing a peace center in Bucks County. *Contacts:* Bucks Alliance for Nuclear Disarmament, Diane Finn (215) 968-6418, or Lorraine Cleveland (215) 968-5143.

MARCH 15

COLORADO

• **Boulder** talk by Linde Kirkbridge and Doris Williams, two ranchers who went to the Soviet Union to discuss the arms race with Soviet citizens; First Congregational Church. *Contact:* Adrienne Harber (303) 499-7540.

GEORGIA

• **Athens** Hearing on the nuclear freeze resolution and crisis relocation planning; Athens City Hall. *Contact:* Tom Clements (404) 725-7717.

TENNESSEE

• **Nashville** Concert by Bright Morningstar, to benefit Nashville Clergy & Laity Concerned; The Cannery. *Contact:* CALC, P.O. 90557, Nashville, TN 37209 (615) 329-9158.

MARCH 16

MISSOURI

• **Kansas City** Debate on the nuclear freeze, with Retired Adm. Eugene Carroll and Michael Heats. *Contact:* Beth Seberger, Kansas City Interfaith Peace Alliance, 3031 Holmes, Kansas City, MO 64109 (816) 931-1310.

NEW YORK

• **Buffalo** Discussion, "Disarmament and the Media," with Peter Watkins, producer of "The War Game." *Contact:* Western New York Peace Center, 440 Leroy Av, Buffalo, NY 14215 (716) 835-4073.

WASHINGTON

• **Poulsbo** "Organizing Along the Tracks," on community organizing against shipment of Trident missiles and warheads to Bangor, Washington; Ground Zero, 16159 Clear Creek Rd, Poulsbo, WA 98370 (206) 692-7053.

MARCH 17

ARKANSAS

• **Clarksville** Talk by Betty Bumpers on the 1983 goals of Peacelinks; College of the Ozarks. *Contact:* Peacelinks Worldwide Inc, Suite 950, 611 Gaines, Little Rock, AR (501) 372-0903.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

• Luncheon presentation of arms reduction proposals by Paul Warnke, chairman of Committee for National Security and former SALT II negotiator; National Press Club, 14 at F St. *Contact:* Committee for National Security, 2000 P St NW, Suite 515, Washington, DC 20036 (202) 833-3140.

IDAHO

• **Boise, Buhl** St. Patrick's Day Peace Dances. *Contacts:* **Boise**—Janice Berndt, Snake River Alliance, Box 1731, Boise, ID 83701 (208) 344-9161; **Buhl**—Kathy Peckjam, Rte 3, Buhl, ID 83316 (208) 543-3462.

NORTH CAROLINA

Charlotte

• Film, "Paul Jacobs and the Nuclear Gang"; St. Martin's Episcopal Church, 1510 E. 7 St. *Contact:* Jean Wood, Charlotte SANE, P.O. 220101, Charlotte, NC 28222 (704) 364-1518.

MARCH 18

MINNESOTA

• **Minneapolis** Reading by poet Robert Bly, to benefit the Honeywell Project; St. Stephens Church. *Contact:* Honeywell Project, 3255 Hennepin Av S, Rm 101, Minneapolis, MN 55408 (612) 827-5362 ext. 24.

• **St. Paul** Ecumenical peace festival with films, panel discussions, Sunday services and the play, "An Instrument of Peace"; St. Paul's United Church, through March 20. *Contact:* Pastor Horst Janus, 900 Summit, St. Paul, MN 55105 (612) 224-5809.

NEBRASKA

• **Louisville** Statewide peacemaking workshop of the United Methodist Church, through Mar 19. *Contact:* The Rev. Jim Keyser, 221 Maple Rd, Louisville, NE 68037 (402) 234-2055.

NEW YORK

• **New York** Conference, "War, Peace

and the News Media," on how the news media affects the public's thinking on nuclear war and disarmament issues, with Hodding Carter, Robert MacNeil, Judith Miller, Drew Middleton, Tom Powers, and others; New York University, Greenwich Village campus, through Mar 19. *Contact:* Pamela Abrams, Dept. of Journalism, 1021 Main Bldg, NYU, New York, NY 10003 (212) 598-3791.

MARCH 19

CALIFORNIA

• **Berkeley** "Pacifeast" dinner and entertainment to celebrate the 60th anniversary of War Resisters League; Trinity Methodist Church, 2320 Dana St. *Contact:* WRL/West, 85 Carl St, San Francisco, CA 94117 (415) 731-1220.

MASSACHUSETTS

• **Cambridge** Conference, "Nuclear Weapons Testing and the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty," with Helen Caldicott, M.D., Herbert Scoville, Jr, Betty Goetz-Lall, and representatives from the Reagan Administration and the U.N.; Kresge Auditorium, Massachusetts Inst. of Technology. *Contact:* Paula Gutlove, M.D., Greater Boston PSR, 639 Massachusetts Av, Cambridge, MA 02139 (617) 497-7440.

NORTH CAROLINA

• **Durham** Women's feminism and nonviolence gathering to discuss development of a feminist peace movement, through Mar 20. *Contact:* War Resisters League, Southeast, 604 Chapel Hill St, Durham, NC 27701 (919) 682-6374.

MARCH 20

CALIFORNIA

• **Santa Cruz** Workshop on war tax resistance; Resource Center for Nonviolence, P.O. 2324, Santa Cruz, CA 95063 (408) 423-1626.

NEVADA

• **Las Vegas** Vigil, "Lenten Desert Experience," at the Nevada Test Site to protest nuclear weapons tests, through Apr 3. *Contact:* Bill Vincent, Citizens Alert, P.O. 1681, Las Vegas, NV 89101 (702) 382-5077.

NEW JERSEY

• **Princeton** Talk by Molly Rush of the Plowshares Eight, and the film "Gods of Metal"; Trinity Church, 33 Mercer St. *Contact:* Coalition for Nuclear Disarmament, 40 Witherspoon St, Princeton, NJ 08540 (609) 924-5022.

NEW YORK

• **New York** Conference, "Environmental Politics in the 1980s," including a workshop by Anna Gyorgy on nuclear by-products and links to nuclear weapons; Columbia University. *Contact:* Mindy Domb, Congressman Ted Weiss's office, 37 W 65 St, New York, NY 10023 (212) 787-3480.

OHIO

• **Akron** Benefit concert by Pete Seeger, Charlie King, and Bright Morningstar; Akron Civic Theatre, Main St. *Contact:* AFSC, 475 W Market St, Akron, OH 44303 (216) 253-7151.

MARCH 22

MASSACHUSETTS

• **Cambridge** Conference, "The Cold War and the Arms Race: Where do We Go from Here?," with Noam Chomsky, Russell Johnson, and others; First Parish Church. *Contact:* AFSC, 2161 Massachusetts Av, Cambridge, MA 02140 (617) 661-6130.

MARCH 24

OHIO

• **Akron, Cleveland, and Youngstown** Third annual "Guns or Butter?" conference, concentrating on "Peace through Jobs" and "Toward a Real National Security," with Marianne Anderson of the Employment Research Assoc, and others, through Mar 26. *Contact:* AFSC, 475 W Market St, Akron, OH 44303 (216) 253-7151.

VIRGINIA

• **Richmond** Talk, "The Nuclear Reality: Beyond Neibuhr and the Just War," by General Kermit Johnson, Retired Chief of Chaplains, US Army. *Contact:* Phil Bauman, Richmond Peace Center, 14 N Laurel St, Richmond, VA 23220 (804) 358-1958.

MARCH 25

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

• Conference, "Critical Mass '83," on the links between nuclear power, the economics of energy, and war, through March 27; Howard University. *Contact:* Critical Mass Energy Project, 215 Pennsylvania Av SE, Washington, DC 20003 (202) 546-4790.

IOWA

• **Des Moines** Workshop, "Despair and Empowerment in the Nuclear Age," by Joanna Rogers Macy, followed by a nuclear age Chautauqua for parents and children; Drake Univ., through Mar 26. *Contact:* Mikel Johnson, Iowa Freeze Campaign, 4211 Grand Av, Des Moines, IA 50312 (515) 274-4851.

WASHINGTON

• **Seattle** Conference, "The Economy and the Arms Race," with William Winpisinger, President of the International Machinist and Aerospace Workers, and others; Seattle Univ. through Mar 26. *Contact:* Nan McMurry-Hanowell (206) 784-8436.

MARCH 26

WASHINGTON

• **Richland** Freeze strategy meeting, with groups from around the state. *Contact:* Freeze Campaign, 4534½ University Way NE, Seattle, WA 98105 (206) 632-6205.

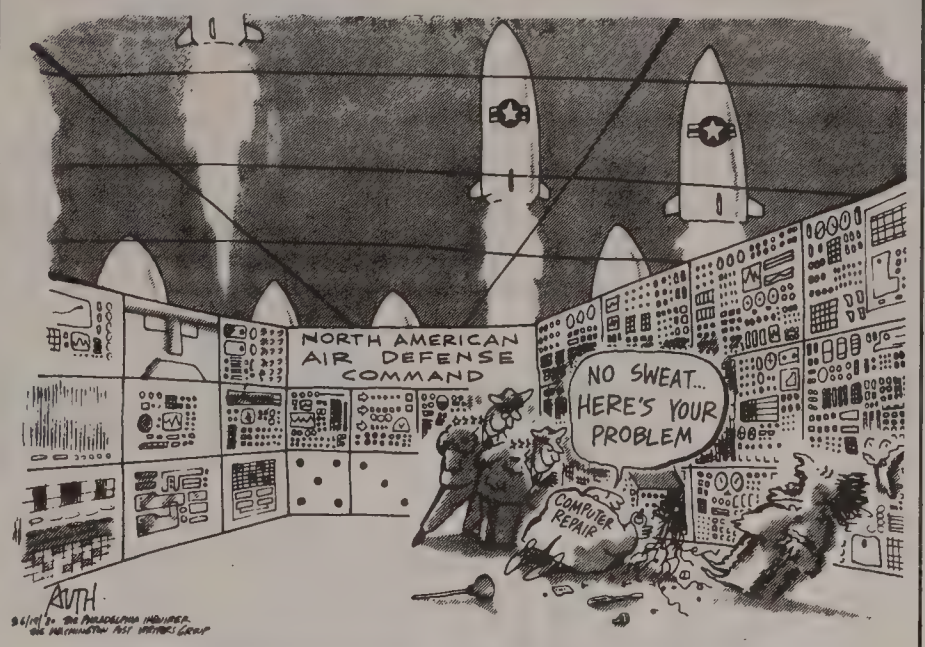
WISCONSIN

• **Milwaukee** Conference, "A Strategy for the Abolition of War," to analyze the power of nonviolent civilian defense, with Gene Sharp, author of *The Politics of Nonviolent Action*; Todd Wehr Chemistry Bldg, Marquette Univ. *Contact:* See **March 9**, Wisconsin.

MARCH 27

MINNESOTA

• **Minneapolis** Film, "Dark Circle," with a talk by filmmaker Judy Irving, and performance by Utah Phillips; Uptown theatre. *Contact:* Northern Sun Alliance, 1519 E Franklin Av, Minneapolis, MN 55404 (612) 874-1540.



APRIL 4

NATIONWIDE

• Ground Zero will be coordinating the three week long game "Firebreaks: A War-Peace Game," which includes scenarios of nuclear war and illustrates the need for non-proliferation, and better relations between the U.S. and U.S.S.R. More than 50,000 copies have already been mailed out. For your own kit, contact: *Firebreaks*, 806 15th St, NW, Washington, DC 20005 (202) 393-7333.

APRIL 5

PENNSYLVANIA

• **Valley Forge** Civil disobedience at General Electric's Valley Forge Space Center to protest the Defense Satellite Communications System and GE's nuclear war technology. *Contact:* Beth Centz, Brandywine Peace Community, 51 Barren Rd, Media, PA 19063 (215) 565-0247.

APRIL 6

FLORIDA

• **Tallahassee** Panel discussion on nuclear war, and the film, "Eight Minutes to Midnight"—part of a week-long series "Remembrance and Premonition: Holocaust in Perspective"; Presbyterian University Ctr, 548 W Park Av.

APRIL 7

NEVADA

• **Las Vegas** "Alternative Visions of the Good Society: Economics As if People Mattered," with workshops on comparative economic systems and economic implications of the arms race; Ryan Hall through Apr 9. *Contact:* Franciscan Center, 704 W McWilliams, Las Vegas, NV 89106 (702) 647-3610.

APRIL 8

MISSOURI

• **Kansas City** "Peace and Justice," the Raymond Bragg Symposium on Humanism, with William Sloane Coffin, Jr, Ann Fagen Ginger, and workshops on peace and human rights through Apr 10; All Souls Unitarian Church, 4500 Warwick. *Contact:* Audra or Delta Gier, 3512 Kenwood, Kansas City, MO 64109 (816) 561-2867.

APRIL 9

CONNECTICUT

• **Hartford** Conference, "Jobs, the Freeze and the Economy," with Dr. Betty Lall, Irving Stoldberg, and others; the Unitarian Church. *Contact:* Connecticut Freeze Campaign, RD 1, Box 494, Voluntown, CT 86384 (203) 376-4098.

FLORIDA

• **Miami** National PSR Symposium on the medical and psychological consequences of nuclear war, with Dr. Jack Geiger, Paul Warnke and Howard Hiatt, at the Knight Center. *Contact:* PSR/Miami, 7210 Red Road #208, Miami, FL (305) 662-1521.

MASSACHUSETTS

• **Amherst** Conference, "Organizing for Disarmament in High Schools," for all Western Massachusetts high school students and teachers; Amherst Regional High School. *Contact:* Warren Goldstein, STOP Nuclear War (413) 498-5311.

• **Northampton** "The Psychology of the Nuclear Arms Race," with Robert Jay Lifton, M.D. and Jerome Frank, M.D., PhD.; Smith College. *Contact:* Traprock Peace Center, Keets Rd, Deerfield, MA 01342 (413) 773-7427.

APRIL 10

NATIONWIDE

• During Jobs with Peace Education Week, through Apr 16, local coalitions of labor, peace, women's, student, and church groups will examine the effects of the military budget on the community, develop local alternatives through reductions in military spending, and educate people about the relationship between such spending and jobs, services, and human needs. Over a hundred communities are planning activities. For brochures and materials on how to prepare a peace budget, school curriculums, and organizers' materials, contact either Jobs with Peace National Network, 2940 16th St, Room B-1, San Francisco, CA 94103 (415) 558-8615, or Mobilization for Survival, 853 Broadway, Room 2109, New York, NY 10003 (212) 533-0008.

—Compiled by Walter Lew with Renata Rizzo and Alex Sichel

Thanks to everyone who mailed us information for the Calendar. The deadline for submitting April events is March 7.

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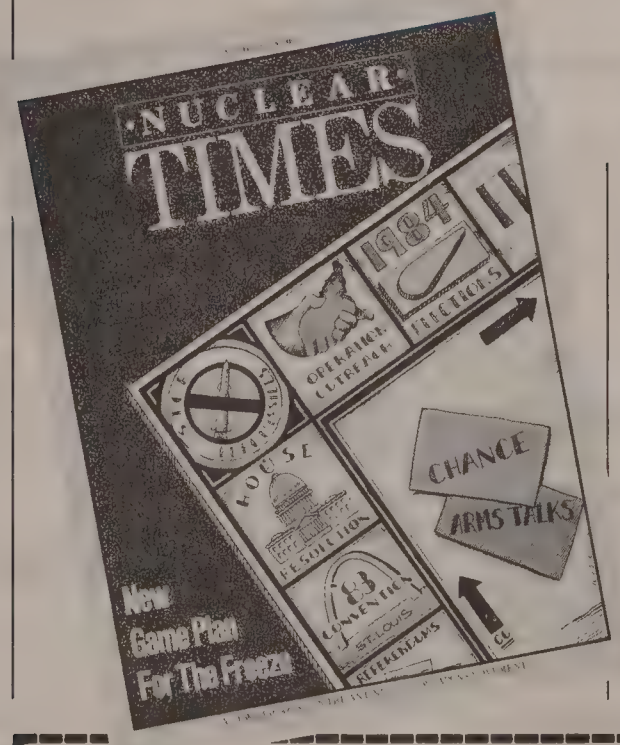

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This is no time for faint-hearted Pollyannas who are afraid to look our predicament straight in the eye, hoping it will go away. And it's no time for tired radicals and worn-out idealists who think they've seen it all and have decided that nothing works. But it is high time for all of us to start thinking and working together to extricate ourselves from this very real nightmare. People, not impersonal forces of history, got us into this fix—and enough of the right people can get us out.

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